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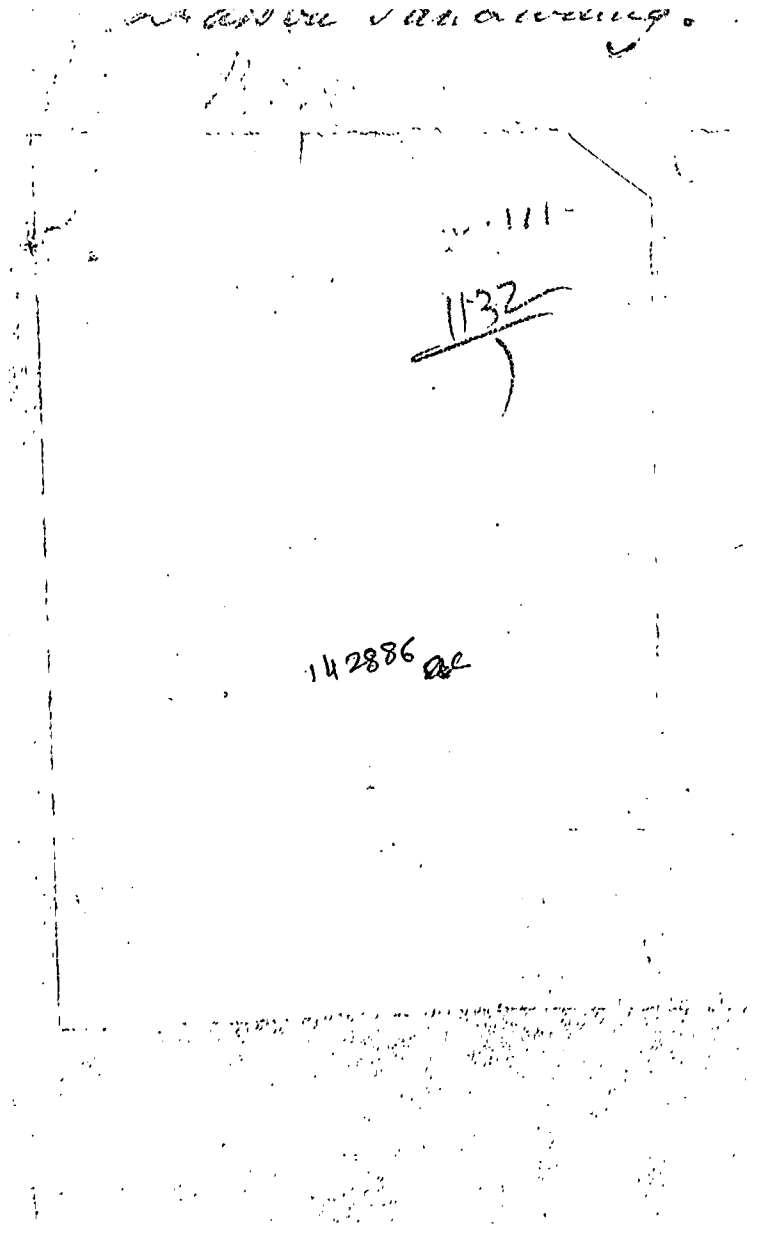

ON

BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM.

By PROFESSOR WILSON.

DIRECTOR OF THE R.A.S.

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ON BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM;

By PROFESSOR WILSON, *Director of the R.A.S.*

[*Read as a Lecture, April* 8, 1854.]

MUCH has been written, much has been said in various places, and amongst them in this Society, about Buddha, and the religious system which bears his name, yet it may be suspected that the notions which have been entertained and propagated, in many particulars relating to both the history and the doctrines, have been adopted upon insufficient information and somewhat prematurely disseminated. Very copious additions, and those of a highly authentic character, have been, but very recently, made to the stock of materials which we heretofore possessed, and there has scarcely yet been sufficient time for their deliberate examination. Copious also and authentic as they are, they are still incomplete, and much remains for Oriental scholars to accomplish before it can be said that the materials for such a history of Buddha as shall command the assent of all who study the subject, have been conclusively provided. I have, therefore, no purpose of proposing to you in the views I am about to take, that you should consider them as final; my only intention is to bring the subject before you as it stands at present, with some of that additional elucidation which is derivable from the many valuable publications that have recently appeared, and particularly from the learned and authentic investigations of the late Eugene Burnouf, the only scholar as yet who has combined a knowledge of Sanscrit with that of Páli and Tibetan, and has been equally familiar with the Buddhist authorities of the north and south of India: unfortunately he has been lost to us before he had gone through the wide circuit of research which he had contemplated, and which he only was competent to have traversed; and although he has accomplished more than any other scholar, more than it would seem possible for any human ability and industry to have achieved, it is to be deeply and for ever regretted that his life was not spared to have effected all he had *intended*, and for which *he was* collecting, and had collected, many valuable and abundant materials. Still he has left us, in his Introduction à l'Histoire de Bouddhisme, and in his posthumous work Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi, an immense mass of authentic information which was not formerly within our reach, and which must contribute effectually to rationalize the speculations that may be hazarded in future on Buddha and his faith. Some of those which have been started by the erudition and ingenuity of the learned in past ages will

best introduce us to the opportunity we now have of ascertaining what is probable, if we cannot positively affirm that it is all true.

It is sometimes supposed that the classical authors supply us with evidence of the Buddhist religion in India three centuries before the era of Christianity, drawing this inference especially from the fragments which remain of the writings of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus to Chandragupta, about the year B.C. 295, according to his latest editor, Schwanbeck, and to whose descriptions of various particulars respecting India the other ancient writers are almost wholly indebted. It is well known that he divides the Indian philosophers into two classes, the Brachmanai and the Sarmanai; and the latter it has been concluded intend the Sramanas, one of the titles of the Buddhist ascetics. This is not impossible. If we trust to the traditions of the Buddhists, their founder lived at least two centuries before the mission of Megasthenes, and in that case we might expect to meet with his disciples in the descriptions of the ambassador. At the same time Sramana is not exclusively the designation of a Buddhist, it is equally that of a Brahmanical ascetic, and its use does not positively determine to which class it is to be applied.[1] In truth, it is clear from what follows that the Brahman was intended, for Megasthenes proceeds to say; "of the Sarmanai, the most highly venerated among them are the Hyllobii," that is, as he goes on to explain the term, "those who pass their lives in the woods (ζωντας εν ταις υλαις), and who live upon wild fruits and seeds, and are clothed in the barks of trees," in other words the Vánaprastha of the Brahmanical system; literally, the dweller in the woods, the man of the third order, who, having left the course of householder, is enjoined by Manu to repair to the wood to subsist upon green roots and fruit, and to wear a garment of bark. Major Cunningham, indeed, who is a courageous etymologist, derives Hyllobii from the Sanscrit *Alobhiya*, "one who is without desire," that is, the Bodhisatwa, who has suppressed all human passions; but *Alobhiya* is not a genuine Sanscrit word, nor is there any authority for its application to a *Bodhisatwa*, and Megasthenes may be presumed to have understood his own language. His interpretation of Hyllobii, the dwellers in the woods, is in such perfect conformity with the meaning of Vánaprastha, that we cannot doubt the identity of the two designations.

Nothing of any value, upon this subject at least, is derivable from classical writers in addition to the information furnished by

[1] When Arjuna goes to the forest he is attended amongst others by *Sramanah Vanaukasah*, forest-dwelling Sramanas: these could not have been Buddhists.—*Mahábhárat*. Adi Parva. v. 7742.

Megasthenes; but when we come later down, or to the early ages of Christianity, various curious notices of Buddhism occur in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, which though meagre are in the main correct. We need not be surprised at this: there is no doubt that Buddhism was in a highly flourishing state in India in the first centuries of Christianity, and it is not extraordinary that some indications of its diffusion should have found their way to Syria and Egypt.

Clemens of Alexandria, who lived towards the close of the second century, had evidently heard of the monastic practices, and of the peculiar monuments or Topes of the Buddhists. When he speaks of the Brachmanai and the Sarmanai as two distinct classes of Indian philosophers, he uses the very words of Megasthenes, and merely, therefore, repeats his statement; but that he does not understand Buddhists by Sarmanes is clear enough, for he proceeds to add, "there are of the Indians some who worship Buddha, or Boutta, whom they honour as a god"; and in another passage he observes: "those of the Indians who are called Semnoi cultivate truth, foretell events, and reverence certain pyramids in which they imagine the bones of some divinity are deposited; they observe perpetual continence; there are also maidens termed Semnai." Semnoi and Semnai might be thought to have some relation to Sramanas, but the words, perhaps, bear only their original purport, "venerable or sacred."

About the middle of the following century, Porphyry repeats information gathered from Bardesanes, who obtained it from the Indian envoys sent to Antoninus; and although the account is somewhat confused, there is an evident allusion to Buddhist practices. "There are," he says, "two divisions of the Gymnosophists, Brachmans, and Samanai,"—not Sarmanai, but Samanai,—"the former are so by birth, the latter by election, consisting of all those who give themselves up to the cultivation of sacred learning: they live in colleges, in dwellings, and temples constructed by the princes, abandoning their families and property: they are summoned to prayer by the ringing of a bell, and live upon rice and fruits." Cyril of Alexandria also mentions that the Samanæans were the philosophers of the Bactrians, showing the extension of Buddhism beyond the confines of India; and St. Jerome, who, like Cyril, lived at the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century, was evidently acquainted with Buddhistical legends, for he says that Buddha was believed to have been born of a virgin, and to have come forth from his mother's side. From Cyril of Jerusalem and Ephraim, writers of the middle of the fourth century, we learn that Buddhism tainted some of the heresies of the early Christian Church, especially the Manichæan, which the

latter terms the Indian heresy; the former states that Terebinthus, the preceptor of Manes, the Persian Mani, took the name of Baudas. Hyde and Beausobre explain this to mean no more than that the word Terebinthus in Greek was the same as Butam in Chaldaic, a kind of tree; but the word in Cyril is Baudas, not Butem, and it is more likely that Terebinthus styled himself a Bauddha, or a Buddha, especially as an Indian origin was assigned to the doctrines he introduced. Epiphanius, indeed, explains how this happened by going a step further. According to him Scythianus, *quasi* Sákya, the master and instructor of Terebinthus, was an Arabian or Egyptian merchant, who had grown rich by trading with India, whence he imported not only valuable merchandise, but heretical doctrines and books. Suidas calls Manes himself a Brahman, a pupil of Baudda, formerly called Terebinthus, who, coming into Persia, falsely pretended that he was born of a virgin. These accounts are no doubt scanty and in some respects inaccurate, but they demonstrate clearly that the Buddhism of India was not wholly unknown to the Christian writers between the second and fifth centuries of our era.

Without at present referring more particularly to the information furnished us by Chinese travellers in India between the third and sixth centuries, we may next advert to the strange theories which were gravely advanced, by men of the highest repute in Europe for erudition and sagacity, from the middle to the end of the last century, respecting the origin and character of Buddha. Deeply interested by the accounts which were transmitted to Europe by the missionaries of the Romish Church, who penetrated to Tibet, Japan, and China, as well as by other travellers to those countries, the members of the French Academy especially, set to work to establish coincidences the most improbable, and identified Buddha with a variety of personages, imaginary or real, with whom no possible congruity existed; thus it was attempted to show that Buddha was the same as the Thoth or Hermes of the Egyptians,—the Turm of the Etruscans; that he was Mercury, Zoroaster, Pythagoras; the Woden or Odin of the Scandinavians:—Manes, the author of the Manichæan heresy; and even the divine author of Christianity. These were the dreams of no ordinary men; and, besides, Giorgi and Paolino, we find amongst the speculators the names of Huet, Vossius, Fourmont, Leibnitz, and De Guignes.

The influence and example of great names pervaded the inquiry, even after access to more authentic information had been obtained, and shews itself in some of the early volumes of the researches of our venerable parent the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Thus Chambers is divided between Mercury and Woden. Buchanan looks out for an

Egyptian or Abyssinian prototype, and even Sir William Jones fluctuates between Woden and Sisac. In the first instance he observes: "nor can we doubt that Wod or Odin was the same with Budh;" but in a subsequent paper he remarks: "we may safely conclude that Sacya or Sisak, about 200 years after Vyasa, either in person, or by a colony from Egypt, imported into this country [India] the mild heresy of the ancient Bauddhas." This spirit of impossible analogies is, even yet, not wholly extinct; and writers are found to identify Buddha with the prophet Daniel, and to ascribe the appearance of Buddhism in India, to the captivity and dispersion of the Jews. When, however, a more profound acquaintance with the literature of the principal Buddhist nations began to shed genuine light upon the subject, it soon scattered the shadows which the darkness of ignorance had begotten. The languages of the Chinese and of the Mongols, were assiduously studied in the early part of the present century, especially by Klaproth, Remusat, and Schmidt; and the application of their acquirements to the illustration of Buddhism, was evinced in numerous interesting and authentic contributions to the early volumes of the Journal Asiatique, and the transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, and more particularly in the copious annotations which accompany the French translation, by Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, of the travels of the Chinese priest, Fa Hian, in the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries. Valuable as this work undoubtedly is, as a Buddhist picture of the condition of India at that period, it would have been in many respects almost unintelligible without the amplification of its brief notices into the extensive views of the system and its authors, which are to be found in the notes attached to the text; the details contained in which are mainly derived from the Buddhist literature of China, with some accessions from that of the Mongols.

In the mean time, however, the interest, which had languished in India, subsequently to the first vain conceits of the Bengal Asiatic Society, revived; and a whole flood of contributions of a character equally novel and important was poured upon the public, both from the north and from the south. The former took the lead, and Buddhism as still prevalent in Nepal and the adjacent Himalayan regions was zealously investigated by Mr. Hodgson, the results of whose inquiries were communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and subsequently to the Royal Asiatic Society. Besides the information which he himself collected, he contributed still more importantly to the progress of the investigation, by first bringing to our knowledge the existence of a number of Buddhist writings in Sanscrit, as well as that of a most

voluminous body of works, chiefly if not exclusively Buddhist, in the language of Tibet. He did more; he procured the books, and in the exercise of a sound judgment, as well as a generous liberality, sent them where they were likely to be turned to good account, to the several Asiatic Societies of Calcutta, London, and Paris. To the former, between 1824 and 1830, he presented nearly 50 volumes in Sanscrit, and 200 in Tibetan: to this Society he presented above 100 volumes in Sanscrit and Tibetan, and at various dates he forwarded to the Société Asiatique 88 volumes of Sanscrit, besides the whole of the great Tibetan collections, the Kah-gyur and Stan-gyur, in more than 300 volumes. He finally presented to the East India Company, a copy of the two Tibetan collections, which are now at the India House. Mr. Hodgson sent these books to Europe, not, as M. Burnouf observes, hat they might slumber in undisturbed repose upon the shelves of a library, but that they might be made to yield the information they might contain. That these expectations have not been wholly disappointed is due, I am sorry to say, to no zeal or acquirement native to the soil; and the books in the Society's possession have done little more than repose in dust and oblivion upon the shelves where they were originally deposited.

The accumulations of Mr. Hodgson have, however, not been made in vain. The Tibetan volumes especially were fortunate in finding an expounder in Alexander Csoma Körösi, whose ardent aspirations after knowledge led him, penniless and friendless, from Transylvania to Ladakh, where, with the aid of our equally adventurous countryman Moorcroft, he was enabled to study and to master the language of Tibet. Placed subsequently in communication with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, he devoted much of his time to the examination of the volumes of the Kah-gyur, and has given the results of his labour to the public in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and in the 20th vol. of the Researches; he has also afforded, by a grammar and dictionary of Tibetan, the means of prosecuting the cultivation of the language in Europe; and the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh, as well as other publications, evince the scholarship of Mr. Schmidt in Tibetan as well as in the literature of the Mongols. We have also a very valuable contribution to the History of Buddhism in a life of Buddha, translated originally from Sanscrit into Tibetan, and from that language into French, and published two or three years since by M. Foucaux. M. Burnouf also qualified himself to make use of the Tibetan books supplied by Mr. Hodgson, but found abundant occupation for his time in translating from the Sanscrit originals. His Introduction to the History of Buddhism contains copious

translations from many of the principal Buddhist works, whilst the work published after his death, the "Lotus de la Bonne Loi," is a translation of a Sanscrit Buddhist work which has been known to be highly estimated for centuries wherever Buddhism is professed.

At the same time that Hodgson and Csoma were illustrating the literature of Buddhism, as it existed in the north of India, a like spirit of research animated the regions of the south, and the Páli scholars of Ceylon began to draw from the stores within their reach, new and valuable sources of information. Besides various contributions to the Ceylon periodicals, and to the Journal of the Bengal Society, the late Mr. Turnour has in his edition and translation of the Mahá'wanso furnished us with an authentic record of the notions which are current not only amongst the people of Ceylon, but those of Ava and Siam, who belong to the same school, and whose authorities are identical. The course commenced by Mr. Turnour has been followed up with great ability by the Rev. Mr. Gogerly in the Friend of Ceylon, and the proceedings of the branch Asiatic Society instituted on the island, whilst Mr. Hardy in his Eastern Monachism, and Manual of Buddhism, has brought together all that is at present known of the Buddhism of the South.

We are not, therefore, in want now of genuine means of forming correct opinions of the outline of Buddhism, as to its doctrines and practices, but there are still questions of vital importance to its history for the solution of which our materials are defective. Disregarding all the fancies of speculation which are based upon imperfect knowledge, and receiving with caution the accounts given us by the Chinese missionaries, the most rational course to be adopted in seeking for information on which dependence may be placed, is, to consult the works which the Buddhists themselves regard as their scriptures, and from which their own history and doctrines are derived: but then, who will answer for the authorities? what is the history, what is the date, of the numerous works that are available, and which consist of two great divisions, the Sanscrit and the Páli? and what is the comparative value of the respective classes? Are they to be regarded as synchronous and independent? and if not, which is the senior, which is the original? These are questions which M. Burnouf himself declares cannot yet be answered with confidence: an exact comparison between the two series of works, he declares to be impossible in the present state of our knowledge. We are not yet in possession of all the works that may exist in either class, but even if they were all collected in any European library, they must be read and studied, translated and commented upon, and the translations and comments must be published. This task, more tedious than diffi-

cult, would require the cooperation of many laborious and patient scholars, and upon its completion in a satisfactory manner could critical investigation alone commence.

Although, however, it is perfectly true that conclusions on which implicit reliance is to be placed must be preceded by such a series of operations as M. Burnouf indicates, yet, as that preliminary process is indefinitely deferred and may never be perfected, we must be content in the meanwhile to make use of such means as we possess, and from them to form a conjectural approximation, if not a positive propinquity, to the solution of the question upon which the whole depends—the antiquity and authenticity of the writings in which the Buddhists themselves record the history of their founder and the doctrines which they maintain, and from which alone we can derive information that is of any real value. The great body of the Buddhist writings consists avowedly of translations; the Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Cingalese, Burman, and Siamese books, are all declaredly translations of works written in the language of India—that which is commonly called *Fan*, or more correctly *Fan-lan-mo*, or "the language of the Brahmans;" and then comes the question, to what language does that term apply? does it mean Sanscrit or does it mean Páli? involving also the question of the priority and originality of the works written in those languages respectively; the Sanscrit works as they have come into our hands being found almost exclusively in Nepal, those in Páli being obtained chiefly from Ceylon and Ava.

Until very lately, the language designated by the Chinese *Fan*, was enveloped in some uncertainty. Fa Hian in the fourth century takes with him *Fan* books not only from India but from Ceylon, and the latter it has been concluded were Páli. No Sanscrit Buddhist works, as far as we yet know, have been met with in the south any more than Páli works in the north, although Sanscrit works are not unfrequent in Ceylon in the present day. The mystery, however, is now cleared up. In the life and travels of Hwan Tsang, written by two of his scholars and translated from the Chinese by M. Julien, the matter is placed beyond all dispute by the description and by the examples which the Chinese traveller gives of the construction of the *Fan* language, in which he was himself a proficient, having been engaged many years in the study whilst in India, and in translating from it after his return to China. We learn then from him, that the words of the *Fan* language are distinguished under two classes, *Ting-anta* and *Sup-anta*, the Sanscrit grammatical designations of *verbs* and *nouns;* that the former have eighteen modifications or persons, in two divisions, nine in each, one called *Pan-to-sa-mi*, or, in Sanscrit, *Parasmai;* the other *Ota-mo-ni*, or in Sanscrit, *Atmane*. All verbs and

nouns have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, of which he gives us examples both in conjugation and declension. All this is Sanscrit; and what is more to the point, it is not Mágadhi, the proper designation of the dialect termed in the south Páli. No form of Prákrit, Páli included, *has a dual number*, and the termination of the cases of the noun are, in several respects, entirely distinct.[1] Hwan Tsang also correctly adds that the grammar in use in India, in his time, was the

[1] The following examples are given by Hwan Tsang of the inflexions of a verb and noun:

VERB.

	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	English.
Third Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-ti	Bhavati	He is
Du.	P'o-po-pa	Bhavapa (for Bhavatah)	They two are
Pl.	P'o-fan-ti	Bhavanti	They are
Second Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-sse	Bhavasi	Thou art
Du.	P'o-po-po	Bhavapa (for Bhavathah)	You two are
Pl.	P'o-po-t'a	Bhavatha	You are
First Person.			
Sing.	P'o-po-mi	Bhavámi	I am
Du.	P'o-po-hoa	Bhavávah	We two are
Pl.	P'o-po-mo V. P'o-po-mo-sse	Bhavámah	We are

NOUN.

	Chinese.	Sanskrit.	English.
Nominative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha	Purushah	Man
Du.	Pu-lu-shao	Purushau	Two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-so	Purushás	Men
Accusative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-shan	Purusham	Man
Du.	Pu-lu-shau	Purushau	Two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shoang	Purushán	Men
Instrumental.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-shai-na	Purushena	By a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	By two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-pi / Pu-lu-sha-sse	Purushábhih / Purushais	By men
Dative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-hia-ye	Purusháya	To man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	To two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shai-cho	Purusheshu (for Purushebhyah)	To men
Ablative.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha-to	Purushát	From a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám	From two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-she-cho	Purusheshu (for Purushebhyah)	From men
Genitive.			
Sing.	Pu-lu-sha-tsie	Purushasya	Of a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-pien	Purushábhyám (for Purushayoh)	Of two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-sha-nan	Purushánám	Of men

work of a Brahman of the north, a native of Tula or Sálátula, named Po-ni-ni, or Pánini, the well known Sanscrit grammarian; and he notices a form of the verb peculiar to the Grammar of the Vedas, (Fei-to).

The evidence of Hwan Tsang, therefore, is conclusive as to the language of the books which were sought for and studied by the Chinese Buddhists in India, and carried with them to China, and there translated into the form and under the appellation in which they still exist. Whether the books they took from Ceylon were Sanscrit or Páli, we have no further indication than the name *Fan*, which it seems most probable that Fa Hian employed in the same sense as Hwan Tsang, or that of Sanscrit; and it is also to be observed that the principal works of Ceylon are subsequent to his time, which makes it further almost certain that the *Fan* books of Ceylon were also in Sanscrit.

The Buddhist authorities of India Proper, then, were undeniably Sanscrit; those of Ceylon might have been Páli or Mágadhi: were they synchronous with the Sanscrit books, or were they older, or were they younger, more ancient or more modern? To answer these questions we must endeavour to determine their relative chronology, from the imperfect means which are within our reach. Both sets of authorities undoubtedly, Sanscrit and Páli, were in existence in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era. The Sanscrit works, according to the testimony of Chinese travellers, were carried from China to India in very considerable numbers from a much earlier date; in one instance it is said two years before Christ, but it was not till after A.D. 76, the date of the introduction of Buddhism into China, that they were imported in any number, and not till the third and fourth centuries that they had become very numerous. In a Chinese history of celebrated Buddhist teachers, published between 502 and 556, and from which M. Julien has given us extracts, a Buddhist priest named Dharma, is said to have brought to China one hundred and sixty-five works, amongst which were several that may be readily identified with the Sanscrit works procured by Mr. Hodgson: we cannot hesitate, for example, to recognise in the Ching-fa-hua, meaning "The Flower of the

	Chinese	Sanskrit.	English.
	Locative.		
Sing.	Pu-lu-sh'ai	Purushe	In a man
Du.	Pu-lu-sha-yu	Purushayoh	In two men
Pl.	Pu-lu-shai-tseu	Purusheshu	In men
	Vocative.		
Sing.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-sha	Purusha	O man
Du.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-shao	Purushau	O two men
Pl.	Hi (He) Pu-lu-sha	Purushâh	O men

The verb does not differ materially from the Páli verb; but the inflexional terminations of the cases of the noun differ very widely: some of them are misstated, but this is probably from errors of transcription.

right Law," the Sad Dharma Pundaríka, "Le Lotus de la bonne Loi," which, as has been mentioned, was the last labour of M. Burnouf. Of this work, repeated translations have been made into Chinese, the first of which dates A.D. 280, whilst of the Lalita Vistara, or life of Sákya Muni, the earliest Chinese version was made between A.D. 70—76. We may be satisfied, therefore, that the principal Sanscrit authorities which we still possess were composed by the beginning of the Christian era at least; how much earlier is less easily determined.

According to the Buddhists themselves, the doctrines of Sákya Muni were not committed to writing by him, but were orally communicated to his disciples, and transmitted in like manner by them to succeeding generations. When they were first written is not clearly made out from the traditions of the north; but they agree with those of the south in describing the occurrence of different public councils or convocations at which the senior Buddhist priests corrected the errors that had crept into the teaching of heterodox disciples and agreed upon the chief points of discipline and doctrine that were to be promulgated. The first of these councils was held, it is said, immediately after Sákya Muni's death; the second 110, and the third 218 years afterwards, or about 246 B.C. The northern Buddhists confound apparently the second and third councils, or take no notice of the latter in the time of Asoka, but place the third in Kashmir under the patronage of Kanishka or Kanerka, one of the Hindo-Sythic kings, 400 years after Buddha's Nirván, or B.C. 153. Both accounts agree that the propagation of Buddhism, by missions dispatched for that purpose, took place after the third council.

According to the traditions which are current in the south as well as the north, the classification of the Buddhist authorities as the Tripithaka, (the three collections,) took place at the first council; the portion termed Sútra, the doctrinal precepts, being compiled by Ananda; the Vinaya, or discipline of the priesthood, by Upáli; and the Abhidharma, or philosophical portion, by Kásyapa—all three Buddha's disciples. Their compilations were revised at the second council, and were finally established as canonical at the last. Their being compiled, however, does not necessarily imply their being written; and, according to the northern Buddhists, they were not committed to writing until after the convocation in Kashmir, or 153 B.C; whilst the southern authorities state, that they were preserved by memory for 450 years, and were then first reduced to writing in Ceylon.

It is to the former of these periods that M. Burnouf would ascribe the composition of the principal Sanscrit works which are still extant. That they continued to be written for four or five centuries afterwards

is obvious from internal evidence, and even from their number and extent. In the sixth century Hwan Tsang and his assistants translated 740 works, forming 1,335 volumes. Of these he himself took to China 657, and they had been brought thither in great numbers before his time. There is also a considerable body of works of a still more recent date, forming the basis upon which many adulterations have crept into Buddhism; evidently borrowed from the Tantras of the Brahmans: 700 works, however, all undoubtedly prior to the sixth century, must have been the work of many years, and have furnished full occupation to the Buddhist scholars of several centuries preceding. We may consider it then established upon the most probable evidence, that the chief Sanscrit authorities of the Buddhists still in our possession were written, at the latest, from a century and a half before, to as much after, the era of Christianity.

Now what is the case with the Páli authorities of the South? We have it most explicitly stated in the great Cingalese authority, the Maháwanso, that the doctrines of Buddha were handed down orally, for more than four centuries after his death; and that they were not reduced to writing till the reign of Wattagámini, between B.C. 104 and 76. And that then the Pittakan were first written in Páli, and the commentary upon them (the Atthakatha) in Cingalese. The latter did not exist in *Páli* until the *fifth century* of the Christian era, or between A.D 410, 432, when Buddhaghosa, originally a Brahman of Magadha, arrived in Ceylon, and gave the first impulse to the cultivation of his own dialect, the Mágadhi, to which the people of the south have applied the term Páli; meaning, according to Mr Turnour, "perfect, regular." The word is not known in India: it is not an Indian term. Buddhaghosa, it is said, repaired with his books to Pegu, and thence also dates the introduction of Páli as the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ava and Siam. Shortly after his time, or between A.D. 459 and 477, the other great Páli work of the Cingalese (the Maháwanso) was composed. Of the Dípawanso another of their authorities, the date is not specified; but as it brings down the history of Ceylon to the beginning of the fourth century when it was left unfinished, and as Buddhaghosa was the main instrument of introducing the use of Páli into Ceylon, it must be of the same period, or the fifth century. The principal Páli works of the South are, therefore, of a period considerably subsequent to the Sanscrit Buddhistical writings of India Proper, and date only from the fifth century after Christ. Their subsequent date might also be inferred from internal evidence; for, although they are in all essential respects the very same as the Buddhist works of India—laying down the same laws and precepts and narrating the same marvellous legends—they

bear the characteristics of a later and less intellectual cultivation, in their greater diffuseness, and the extravagant and puerile additions they frequently make to the legendary matter. They seem also to be very scantily supplied with the Abhidharma or metaphysical portion of the Tripithaka, as compared with the Sútra and Vinaya. Such portions of the Pittakan as have been translated are, however, essentially the same as the Sanscrit Sútras, whilst the Atthakathas, or the commentaries, take a more discursive range, and are of a less authentic character; being in fact the compositions of Buddhaghosa, *taken*, as he himself states, *not translated*, from the Cingalese Atthakatha which are no longer extant. How much therefore is his own, cannot be now determined.

Of the three classes of works constituting the Tripithaka, that of the Sútras is historically the most important. A Sútra is properly a brief aphorism or precept, conveying a position or dogma in a few concise, and not unfrequently obscure, terms. The Buddhist Sútras are not exactly of this nature. They are supposed to be the *ipsissima verba* of Sákya himself, the Buddha-vachana, repeated by Ananda as he had heard them; and they all begin, whether in Sanscrit or in Páli, with the expression: "This has been heard by me.—Etan-mayá srutam, Eso maya suttam." They are in the form of a dialogue, in which the disciple asks questions and Sákya explains; illustrating his explanation by parables and legendary tales of various extent. M. Burnouf has shewn, however, that the Sútras are of two different descriptions. In one class, no doubt the oldest, the style is much more simple, and is wholly prose; and the legends are less extravagant. They are called by M. Burnouf, the simple Sútras. In the other, which the Buddhists themselves term Vaipulya Sútras, "expanded or developed Sútras," the style is more diffuse, and is mixed prose and verse; and the latter is very remarkable, as containing many ungrammatical forms; the narratives are prolix and marvellous; and new persons are introduced who, although unknown to the simple Sútras, evidently performed a conspicuous part in the subsequent dissemination and corruption of the Buddhist religion; such are Nágárjuna or Nágasena, Manjusrí, and Padmapáni, to the latter of whom the invocation that is now so conspicuous in the temples of Nepal and Tibet is addressed under a modified name in ungrammatical Sanscrit, and with additions palpably borrowed from the Tantras of the Brahmans—Om! Manipadme! Hum!—Glory to Manipadma—Húm! Another personage is also, for the first time, introduced,—Avalokiteswara, who is regarded by the Tibetans as their particular patron, and who is an object of especial worship to the Mongols and Chinese, amongst whom he is sometimes

represented as having eleven heads and eight arms; or sometimes a thousand eyes and a thousand hands, as expressed by his Chinese name Kwan-shi-in. Many absurd legends respecting this Bodhisatwa are current amongst the Buddhists of the north, but they, and the multiplied limbs of Avalokiteswara, are, no doubt, unauthorized additions, even to the texts of the Vaipulya Sútras. The introduction of such legendary and mythological personages is, however, sufficient evidence that these works are later than the simple Sútras, although most of them were current in India when visited by the Chinese in the fifth and sixth centuries.

It is, therefore, to the simple Sútras that we are to look for the earliest and least corrupt form in which, according to Buddhist notions, the doctrines of their founder are delivered. M. Burnouf has given us specimens in the Mándhátri and Kanakavarna Sútras, portions of a larger work, the Divya-avadána; they record severally the names of Buddha when he was the king Mándhátri, a name well known in Pauranik fiction, and when as king Kanakavarna, he gave away to a Bodhisatwa the last morsel of food which a long drought and famine had left for his sole sustenance. Of course this act of charity was followed by an immediate fall of rain and the return of plenty. To judge from these specimens, the simple Sútras, although the earlier, are not the most interesting of the Buddhist writings, and details which are of more value to the history, if not to the doctrine only, are to be found in the Vaipulya Sútras—constituting the authorities of the Mahâyána, the great vehicle, which were the particular objects of Hwan Tsang's studies and collections. Amongst these we may particularize the Lalita Vistara—the expansion of the sports [of Buddha]; being his life—and in Buddhist belief, his autobiography—having been repeated by himself. The Sanscrit original is not very rare in India, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal has undertaken the publication of the text and translation by Rajendra lal Mitra: the first fascicle only has appeared. The entire work has been published at Paris, translated from the Tibetan, as I have mentioned, by M. Foucaux, who has compared it carefully with the Sanscrit, and bears testimony to the closeness of the Tibetan translation. He ascribes its composition to a period subsequent to the third convocation, or about 150 years B.C. It was translated, as I have stated, into Chinese in the first century after, which is compatible enough with the date assigned to its first composition, and there is internal evidence in favour of the same date.

It is, undoubtedly, subsequent to the Mahá-bhárata, which I have elsewhere conjectured to be about two centuries prior to Christianity; for it is said, that when the choice of the family in which the Buddha

should be born was under consideration in the Tushita heaven, that of the Pándavas of Hastinapura was objected to, because they had filled their genealogy with confusion, terming Yudhishthira the son of Dharma, Bhímasena the son of Váyu, Arjuna of Indra, Nakula and Sahadeva of the Aswins; all very correct citations. In the proofs also of his skill in archery which Sákya displays in his youth, he pierces with his arrow an iron effigy of a boar, the very feat which Arjuna performs, only that the Pándu prince achieves it within the reasonable compass of a meadow, whilst, in the usual strain of Buddhist exaggeration, Sákya hits the mark at the distance of ten *kos*, or twenty miles off: these circumstances clearly refer to the Hindu poem, and concur in placing the age of the Lalita Vistara about a century and a half before the Christian era. It embodies, however, no doubt, the traditions of an earlier date, traditions not long subsequent to the first dissemination of the principles of Buddhism.

The circumstances of Buddha's life, as told in the Lalita Vistara, have furnished all the Buddhist nations with their traditions. The life and acts of Buddha are always related to the same purport, and very nearly in the same words, in Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Páli, Burman, Siamese, and Cingalese. After an infinitude of births in various characters, during ten millions of millions and one hundred thousand millions of kalpas, the shortest of which consists of sixteen millions of years, and the longest of thirty-two millions; after this, he attained the rank of Bodhisatwa, that which is inferior only to a Buddha, in the Tushita heaven, where he taught his doctrine to innumerable millions of Bodhisatwas, or future Buddhas, and gods and spirits; and was glorified by Sakra, Brahmá, Maheswara, Nágas, Gandharbas, Yakshas, Asuras, and other creations of the Brahmanical mythology. To rise to the elevation of a perfect Buddha one existence more on earth was necessary, and he, therefore, becomes incarnate as the son of the Sákya prince Suddhodana, king of Kapilavastu, and Máyá his wife: he is born miraculously from his mother's side, who died seven days after his birth: as soon as born he took seven steps to each of the four quarters, announcing aloud his supremacy in language, which the Lalita Vistara and the Buddhist writings of Ava and Ceylon similarly repeat, at least substantially. The Lalita Vistara, for instance, makes him say in the east; "I shall proceed, the first of all existences, springing from the root of virtue:" in the south, "I shall be worthy of the offerings of gods and men:" in the west, "This is my last birth; I shall put an end to birth, old age, disease, and death:" in the north, "I shall have no superior amongst beings." So Mr. Hardy, translating from various Buddhist works in Páli, says: "at his birth he was

received by Mahá Brahmá in a golden net, from which he was transferred to the guardians of the four quarters, who received him on a tiger's skin, from the dewas he was received by the nobles, who wrapped him in folds of the finest and softest cloth, but at once Bodhisat descended from their hands to the ground, and looked to the four points, and to the four half points, and above and below; when he looked towards the north he proceeded seven steps in that direction and exclaimed: 'I am the most exalted in the world. I am chief in the world. I am the most excellent in the world. Hereafter there is to me no other birth.'". The legend is evidently the same although slightly varied.

Siddhártha, his name as a prince, was educated as a prince, married to different wives, and led a life of pleasure and enjoyment, until the vanity of worldly existence was impressed upon his conviction by his meeting, on three several occasions, with a sick man, a corpse, and a mendicant, on which he resolved to abandon his royalty and devote himself to solitary meditation. His father disapproves of his intention, and places him under restraint; but he makes his escape miraculously by night, with one attendant, and having reached a convenient distance from the city changes his dress with a hunter, —a demigod in disguise,—and with his sword cuts off his own hair. According to a Páli authority quoted by M. Burnouf, this was the origin of the curly hair of the figures of Sákya, which induced early European writers to consider him as of Abyssinian origin, for the hair, shortened to the length of two fingers, turning upwards, remained in that position the rest of his life. He then engages in sacred study under different Brahmans, but, dissatisfied with their teaching, retires into solitude, followed by five of his fellow-disciples, and for six years practises rigorous austerities: finding their effects upon the body subversive to intellectual energy, he desists and adopts a more genial course of life, on which his five disciples quit him and he is left alone. He is then assailed by the demon of wickedness, Mára, "the killer," who is identical with Káma-deva, or the God of Love; but terrors and temptations fail to disturb his serenity, and the Tempter is compelled to acknowledge his defeat, and to withdraw. Buddha, resuming his meditations, contemplates the causes of things, which is the key to the well-known formula of the Buddhists found upon so many of their images, and of which the various readings, as given in a communication by Colonel Sykes, in the forthcoming number of our Journal,[1] are evidently nothing more than the blunders of ignorant

[1] Ante, p. 37.

transcribers, or defects in cutting the letters on clay or stone. In the Lalita Vistara, Buddha's meditations are thus recapitulated:—

"Thus thought the Bodhisatwa: 'from what existing thing come disease and death? age and death being the consequences of birth, birth is the cause of disease and death.'" He then proceeds to analyse in the same strain the causes of birth, of conception, of desire, of sensation, of contact, of the senses, of name and form, of comprehension, of ideas; and concludes that ignorance, Avidyá, is the cause of ideas, and is the remote cause of existence.

The next subject of his meditations is the means by which this chain of causes is to be counteracted, and he concludes: "Birth being no more, old age and death are not; therefore, by annihilation of birth, old age and death are annihilated; and as ignorance is the ultimate cause of existence, then by the removal of ignorance all its consequences are arrested, and existence ceases, by which means old age, death, wretchedness, sorrow, pain, anxiety, and trouble, the whole mass of suffering, becomes for ever extinct." This is the summary of Buddhistic wisdom set forth in the popular stanza,

"Ye dharma hetu-prabhavá,"

with which we have long been familiar.

The Lalita Vistara is somewhat silent on the subject of Sákya's peregrinations, and represents him as chiefly engaged in discourses to his Bhikshus, or mendicant followers, or in intercourse with the Nágas and the Devas. He attains to the perfection of a Buddha at Bodhimanda, which is apparently ancient Gaya, and resides there until he thinks it necessary to look out for some person who may succeed him as teacher of the law; he then proceeds to Benares, and on his way, having no money to pay for being ferried across the Ganges, he transports himself over it in the air. At Benares he recovers his five original disciples, but it does not appear that they are appointed to succeed him, on the contrary, Buddha addressed these words, it is said, to Mahá Kásyapa, Ananda, and the Bodhisatwa Maitreya; "Friends! the Supreme Intelligence, perfect and full, which I have acquired in a hundred thousand millions of kalpas, I deposit in your hands. Do you yourselves receive this part of the Law, teach it fully in detail to others." He then praises the Sútra, the Lalita Vistara, after which, "the sons of the gods, the Máheswaras, and the rest of the gods, the Siddhakavásakáyikas, Maitreya, and, all the other Bodhisatwas, Mahásattwas, Mahá Kásyapa, and the rest of the Mahá Srávakas, Ananda, and the worlds of the gods, of men, of Asuras, of Gandharbas, rejoiced, and praised aloud the instructions of Bhagaván."

As the Lalita Vistara is attributed to Sákya himself, it cannot

contain any account of his death. For this we must have recourse to the Mahá Parinirvána Sútras, of which we have only the Tibetan translation, in the eighth and two following volumes of the Nya volume of the Do Class of the Kahgyur, and of which Csoma has given us an abridged translation; we have it also in the life of Sákya in the Mongol, as translated by Klaproth in the Asia Polyglotta, and we have what is no doubt the same work in Páli, the Parinibbana Suttan, a section of the Digha nikáyo, of which Mr. Turnour has given us an analysis (J. A. S. B., vii., 991). The accounts, as far as they go, are substantially the same, but the proximate cause of Sákya's death, illness brought on by eating pork, seems to be an addition of the compiler of the Cingalese narrative; no such incident is alluded to by either Csoma or Klaproth, and it seems very inconsistent with Sákya's recommendation of abstinence: as also Sákya had attained the age of eighty he might have been allowed to die of natural decay. The Páli legend adds that the pork was provided for him, and for him alone, by his host, at his particular desire, because he knew it would cause his death. According to both narratives he directed his disciples to dispose of his remains after the fashion of that of the Chakravarttís, or universal monarchs, the ashes of whose bodies, after burning, were collected and deposited in stately pyramidal monuments. Accordingly his ashes were at first placed in a monument erected where he died, in Kusinagara, or Kusia in Gorakhpur, but portions were claimed by various persons; and the warriors of Kusa, although they at first refused to give up any of the precious deposit, were at last induced by the mediation of a Brahman, who is not named in Csoma's analysis, but is termed Dono, that is, Drona, by Turnour, to assent to a division. The distribution is in some respects not very intelligible; one part is for the champions of Kusa, one for those of Digpachan or Tibet, one for the royal tribe of Baluka, one for the royal tribe of Krodtya, one for a Brahman of Vishnudwípa, one for the Sákyas, one for the Lichhavis of Allahabad, and one for Ajátasatru, king of Magadha: they all built chaityas over them and paid them worship. The urn in which the reliques had first been placed, was given to the Brahman who had mediated, and another Brahman received the cinders: they also erected chaityas. Of the four eye-teeth, two were distributed to the deities called Trayastrinsats, and the Nágas; one was placed in "The Delicious City," and one in the country of the king of Kalinga, whence in time it found its way to Ceylon, where it is still preserved. Hence originated the practice of constructing the monuments called Sthúpas, or Topes, which have excited so much interest of late years, and of which a subsequent sovereign of Magadha, Asoka, is said to have constructed 84,000. In many parts of Tibet, where they are

more usually termed Chaityas, or Chaits, they are numerous but small, containing, it is supposed the ashes of distinguished Lamas. Chaitya, which is a Sanscrit term, is in fact equally applicable to any sacred object, a temple, or a tomb; every Sthúpa may be a Chaitya, but a Chaitya may be also something else of a religious character.

These accounts of Sákya's birth and proceedings, laying aside the miraculous portions, have nothing very impossible, and it does not seem improbable that an individual of a speculative turn of mind, and not a Brahman by birth, should have set up a school of his own in opposition to the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction, about six centuries before Christ; at the same time there are various considerations which throw suspicion upon the narrative, and render it very problematical whether any such person as Sákya Sinha, or Sákya Muni, or Sramana Gautama, ever actually existed. In the first place, the Buddhists widely disagree with regard to the date of his existence. In a paper I published many years ago in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, I gave a list of thirteen different dates, collected by a Tibetan author, and a dozen others might be easily added, the whole varying from 2420 to 453 B.C. They may, however, be distinguished under two heads, that of the northern Buddhists, 1030 B.C. for the birth of Buddha, and that of the southern Buddhists, for his death B.C. 543. It is difficult, however, to understand why there should be such a difference as five centuries, if Sákya had lived at either the one or the other date.

The name of his tribe, the Sákya, and their existence as a distinct people and principality, find no warrant from any of the Hindu writers, poetical, traditional, or mythological; and the legends that are given to explain their origin and appellation are, beyond measure, absurd. The most probable affinity of the name is to that of the Sakas, or Scythians, or Indo-Scythians, as if they were an offshoot from the race that dislodged the Indo-Bactrian Greeks, but this is not countenanced by any of the traditions, Brahmanical or Buddhist.

The name of Sákya's father, Suddhodana, "he whose food is pure," —suggests an allegorical signification, and in that of his mother, Máyá, or Máyádeví, "illusion, divine delusion,"—we have a manifest allegorical fiction; his secular appellation as a prince, Siddhártha, "he by whom the end is accomplished,"—and his religious name, Buddha, "he by whom all is known," are very much in the style of the Pilgrim's Progress, and the city of his birth, Kapila Vastu, which has no place in the geography of the Hindus, is of the same description. It is explained, "the tawny site," but it may also be rendered, "the substance of Kapila," intimating, in fact, the Sánkhya philosophy, the doctrine of

Kapila Muni, upon which the fundamental elements of Buddhism, the eternity of matter, the principles of things, and final extinction, are evidently based. It seems not impossible, after all, that Sákya Muni is an unreal being, and that all that is related of him is as much a fiction as is that of his preceding migrations, and the miracles that attended his birth, his life, and his departure.

At the same time, although we may discredit the actuality of the teacher, we cannot dispute the introduction of the doctrine, and there may have been, about the time attributed to Sákya's death by the southern Buddhists, a person, or what is more likely, persons of various castes, comprising even Brahmans, who introduced a new system of hierarchical organization, for that seems to have been the chief, if not the sole innovation intended by the first propagators of Buddhism. The doctrine of transmigration was common to the Buddhists and to every division of the Brahmanical Hindus: the eternity of matter and the periodical dissolution and renovation of the world were also familiar to all the schools; the Buddhists did not abolish caste, they acknowledged it fully as a social institution, but they maintained that it was merged in the religious character, and that all those who adopted a religious life were thereby emancipated from its restrictions, and were of one community: the moral precepts which they inculcated, with at least one exception—the prohibition of taking away animal life, were common to them and to the Brahmans; and the latter seem to have adopted from the Buddhists, very possibly, the merit of *Ahinsá:* the Buddhists recognised the existence of all the gods of the Brahmanical pantheon, with perhaps one or two exceptions which may have been of later date, such as Krishna for instance: the notion of final extinction or Nirván, although more unqualified, was not exclusively confined to the Buddhists. In short, the philosophy of Buddhism, as is observed by Mr. Gogerly, was essentially eclectic, and the main point of disagreement was the political institution of a religious society which should comprise all classes, all castes, women as well as men, and should throw off the authority of the Brahmans as the sole teachers of religious faith. It seems likely also that the same innovators discarded the ritual of the Vedas, and discontinued the adoration of the Hindu divinities, placing the observance of moral duties and the practice of a life of self-denial and restraint above the burthensome and expensive charges of formal worship. Their departure from the Brahmanical system started about the time ascribed to Sákya's teaching, became gradually developed as the organization of those by whom they were professed became more perfect, and by the middle of the third century before Christ, they may have enjoyed the

patronage of Asoka, the Raja of Central India, as the Buddhist traditions maintain, and under his encouragement a convocation may have been held, at which the associated Buddhists commenced that course of propagation which spread their religion throughout India and beyond its confines to the north and to the south. I do not think that the difficulties which attend the identification of Asoka with Piyadasi have yet been cleared up, but we may admit that the edicts on the columns and the rocks were inscribed about the time of Asoka's reign, or in the third century before Christ. We may admit also that they are intended to recommend Buddhism, but their tone is not that of a triumphant or exclusive form of belief, and the spirit of toleration which they breathe is an unequivocal proof of a nascent faith, a system that courts compromise rather than provokes and defies hostility. At this period we may conceive the marvels of Sákya's life and the more detailed expansion of the doctrines ascribed to him to have been devised, as calculated to excite the admiration and win the belief of the natives of India, ever ready to give credit to the supernatural, and to pay superstitious homage to the assumption of divinity. Besides the inscriptions attributed to Asoka, he is said to have been a profuse constructor of Viháras, Buddhist monasteries, and of Sthúpas or monuments over Buddhist reliquiæ. Viháras were probably multiplied about this time or even earlier: we have not yet met with any Sthúpas to which so high an antiquity can be confidently assigned. It seems little likely that Sákya, or the first propagators of the system, would have enjoined the construction of monuments to preserve the frail relics of humanity, when their first dogma was the worthlessness of bodily existence, and it could not have been until Sákya was elevated by his followers to the rank of something more than a god that his relics, or those of his early disciples, should have been held entitled to such veneration; at any rate we have no evidence of the erection of any Sthúpa as early as the middle of the third century before Christ, whilst we have several proofs of their construction after the era of Christianity, down as late as the sixth century afterwards. These are afforded by the discovery, in the solid body of the monuments, of the coins of the consular families of Rome, and of the first Cæsars; of the coins of the emperors of Constantinople, Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo, who reigned from A.D. 407 to A.D. 474; and of great quantities of the coins of the Sassanian princes of Persia, down to Kobad, who died A.D. 531. These coins are found in the Topes of the Panjáb and Afghánistán, and establish beyond dispute that the practice of constructing monuments of this class prevailed in the north-west of India from some time after the beginning of the Christian era until the

sixth century. The most remarkable monument of this class in Central India is that of Bhilsa or Sánchi, in its neighbourhood. This was first brought to notice by Captain Fell, who published a description of it in the Calcutta Journal in 1819; this description, with additions, was reprinted by Mr. J. Prinsep, in the third volume of the J. B. Asiatic Society, and at his suggestion sketches of the most remarkable objects and facsimiles of inscriptions abounding on the spot, were sent him by Captains Smith and Murray, and published by him, with translations and important comments, in the sixth volume of the Journal. More recently, Lieutenant Maisey has been employed by the government of Bengal to make careful drawings of these remains; and some of his sketches which have been sent home evince his great merit as an artist as well as an antiquarian. The publication of these documents has been anticipated by Major Cunningham, who had associated himself with Lieutenant Maisey in the investigation, and who has published the results of his own labours in a work entitled The Bhilsa Topes, in which he has given not only sketches of various interesting objects, but copies and translations of more than 200 inscriptions. They are mostly short, merely specifying the liberality of some devout Buddhist in a gift which is not specified; as, Dhamma rakhitasa bhichchuno dánam, "the gift of the mendicant Dharma Rakshita." Major Cunningham conjectures the gifts to have been stones or sculptured contributions to the structure. From one of them he infers the date of the inclosure to have been the early part of the reign of Asoka—"Subahitasa Gotiputasa Raja-lipikarasa dánam—the gift of the king's scribe, Subahita, son of Goti;" Gotiputra being the teacher of the celebrated Moggali-putra. From an inscription in one of the gateways in which the name of Srí Sát Karni occurs, Major Cunningham concludes the gateways were erected about the beginning of the Christian era, in which Lieutenant Maisey concurs. These, however, he considers long posterior to the body of the building, which he would carry as far back as 250 B.C., or even 500 B.C., on somewhat insufficient evidence; its being as old as Asoka, depending upon the identification of Gotiputra the teacher of Moggali-putra, who presided, it is said, at the third council in A.D. 241, a statement altogether erroneous, as Mogali-putra, Maudgala, or Maudgaláyana, was one of Sákya's first disciples, three centuries earlier. In the second and third of the topes of Sánchi, Major Cunningham found relic boxes, inscribed with the names of Kásyapa, Mogaliputra, and Sáriputra, from which he would seem to infer that the topes must have been erected soon after their deaths, or some time between 550 B.C. and 250 B.C.; but, as he himself remarks, the reliques of Buddha and his principal

disciples were very widely scattered, being found in different places; and once the notion of their sanctity was adopted, they were no doubt multiplied, as so many pious frauds, in order to give a reputation to the building in which they were said to be enshrined; similar vases were also found at Satdhara and Andher, furnishing examples of this multiplication of relics in the same immediate neighbourhood. Their asserted presence, in any monument, is no more a proof of its antiquity than would the hairs of Buddha, if ever dug up, prove the Shwedagon of Rangoon to have been built in his day. No legitimate conclusion can be drawn, therefore, from inscriptions of this class, as to the date of the Sánchi monuments, whilst the name of a Sát Karni prince is a palpable indication of their being erected subsequent to the Christian era. The topes of Ceylon, however, appear to be of an earlier date, if we may credit the tradition which ascribes the erection of the Ruanvelli mound at Anurádhapura to king Dutthagámini, who reigned, 161 B.C. to 137 B.C.

A somewhat earlier period than that of the Indian Sthúpas may be assigned to another important class of Buddhist monuments—the Cave Temples belonging to that persuasion—but they also, as far as has been yet ascertained, are subsequent to Christianity. The Rev. Mr. Stevenson has lately furnished important illustrations of this subject to the Journal of the Branch Asiatic Society of Bombay, in his translations of the inscriptions in the Cave Temples of Kanheri, Karlen, Junir, Nasik, and other places in the Sahyádri range of hills, from facsimiles taken under the authority of the government by Mr. Brett. They, like the inscriptions on the Sthúpas, are usually brief records of gifts not specified, by persons, for the most part, of no mark or likelihood, but there are a few names of historical value, as well as a few dates. In one case, the excavation at Nána Ghát, Mr. Stevenson conjectures for it an antiquity of 200 B.C., but there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for such a conjecture. In another case he proposes, for a column at Karlen, the date 70 B.C., as it was set up by Agnimitra, son of Mahárája Bhoti, whom he would identify with the last of the Sunga dynasty, Devabhúti; but this, to say the least, is problematical, and in this, as well as in the preceding, Mr. Stevenson himself queries the chronology: the dates which he proposes without hesitation begin with A.D. 189, but we tread upon tolerably safe ground when we come to various dates from 20 B.C. to A.D. 410, because the inscriptions give us several of the names of the Ándhra-bhritya, or, in the dialect of the inscriptions, Ádhá-bhati princes; such as Bálin, Kripa Karna, Gautamiputra, and Yajna Srí Sát Karni, members of a dynasty who were the powerful princes of the "Andhra gens," noticed by Pliny, and who, we learn from the Puránas, confirmed by the accounts of the Chinese

travellers, extended their authority to Central India, and reigned at Pátaliputra from the commencement of the Christian era to the fifth century after it, which period we may consider as the date of the principal Buddhist excavations in the west of India.

The evidence thus afforded by the Sthúpas, and the caves, of the time in which the principal monuments of Buddhism were multiplied, harmonises with that which we have derived from the more lasting literary monuments of the same faith, and leave no doubt that the first four or five centuries after Christ, were the period during which the doctrine was most successfully propagated, and was patronized by many of the Rájas of India, particularly in the north and in the west. Ever ready as the Chinese traveller, Fa-Hian, at the end of the fourth century, is to see Buddhism everywhere dominant, he furnishes evidence that in the east, and particularly in the place of its reputed origin, the birth place of Sákya, which had become a wilderness, it had fallen into neglect. In the seventh century, Hhwan Tsang abounds with notices of deserted monasteries, ruined temples, diminished number of mendicants, and augmented proportion of heretics. It has been already conjectured that this was the term of its vitality, and that the seventh century witnessed its disappearance from the continent of India. Traces of Buddhism lingered, no doubt, till a much later period, as is shewn by the inscription found at Sárnáth as late as the eleventh century; but it was then limited to a few localities, and had shifted its scene to the regions bordering on its birth-place, being shortly afterwards so utterly obliterated in India Proper, that by the sixteenth century the highest authority in the country, the intelligent minister of an inquiring king, the minister of Akbar, Abulfazl, could not find an individual to give him an account of its doctrines.

It would be impossible, in the limited time at our disposal, to enter upon a detail of what those doctrines are; but I may briefly advert to one or two of those which may be regarded as most characteristic. Some of those which are common to Buddhists and Brahmans have been noticed, and of those which are peculiar, the difference is rather in degree than in substance.

Thus the attribution to a Buddha of power and sanctity, infinitely superior to that of the Gods, is only a development of the notion that the gods could be made subject to the will of a mortal, by his performance of superhuman austerities; only the Buddhists ascribed it to the perfection of the internal purity acquired during a succession of births. The notion of Buddha's supremacy once established, the worship of the gods became superfluous; but as the mass of mankind are in need of sensible objects to which their devotions are to be

addressed, Buddha came to be substituted for the gods, and his statues to usurp their altars. In the course of time, in some of the Buddhist countries, at least other idols, several of them very uncongenial with the spirit of Buddhism, and evidently borrowed from Hinduism, came to be associated with him, particularly in Tibet and China, in which latter country the temples commonly present three principal colossal images, which are the representatives of Buddha and two of his chief disciples, Sákya, Sáriputra, and Maudgaláyana; or, according to some authorities, of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha, or Buddha, the Law and the Community. They are sometimes also said to be the Buddhas of the past, present, and future ages. The temples, however, present many other idols, such as a goddess of mercy, a queen of heaven, a god of war, a god of wealth, a tutelary divinity of sailors, tutelary divinities of cities, and various other fanciful and not unfrequently grotesque beings, amongst whom we have Ganesa with his elephant head. In Japan, if we may trust to Kæmpfer, we have representations of the avatárs of Vishnu; and in Nepal and western Tibet, as already remarked, we have the Dhyání Buddhas, and Bodhisatwas, Manipadma, Manjusrí, and Avalokiteswara, and a host of inferior spirits and divinities, of whom pictures or statues fill the courts, or cover the walls of the temples. The representation and worship of these idols, although not prohibited by anything in the religion of Buddha, is obviously incompatible with its spirit, and must be regarded as exotic corruptions; no such auxiliaries seem to be admitted in those countries where the system exists in its greatest purity, as in Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, as, although the images in the temples are often exceedingly numerous, they are, with exception of subsidiary figures which are not worshipped, such as dragons and lions, all of the same character, representing Gautama or his disciples generally in a sitting posture, with the legs crossed, and the hands in the act of prayer or benediction; the indefinite multiplication of the images arising from its being considered an act of merit to set up a statue of a Buddha or of a Buddhist priest of reputed sanctity.

The organization of a regular priesthood from all classes, and their assemblage in Viháras or monasteries under a superior, is also one of the distinguishing features of Buddhism, as opposed to Brahmanism, although not wholly unknown to the institutes of the latter. The monastic system, however, does not seem to have originated with Sákya himself, for he and his immediate followers were migratory, passing from one part of central India to another, except during the rainy season, when they dispersed to their respective homes, reassembling after the rains; the organization commenced probably with the

first convocation, and was brought to perfection by the third. In the first instance, the heads of the communities were elected by the associates, on account of their superior age and learning; but other motives, no doubt, soon came to influence the choice, and in time new principles were introduced, which were not originally recognized, although not wholly foreign to the spirit of the system, particularly the notion that guides the election of a successor to a deceased Dalai Lama of Lhassa, or a Tashi Lama of Teshulambu, the selection of a child in whose person the soul of the deceased is supposed to have become regenerate, being in fact that of a Buddha on his way to perfection. This notion is now, at least, no longer confined to Teshulambu, or to Lhassa; but is spread very generally through Tartary according to the French missionaries; and every monastery of note seeks, upon the demise of its Superior, for a child to succeed him, sending usually to western Tibet to discover him, and detecting him by placing before the boy a variety of articles, from which he picks out such as had belonged to the deceased, and which he is supposed to recognize as having been his property in a prior existence. This, if true, may no doubt be easily managed by a little dexterity, but Messrs. Huc and Gabet suspect that Satan is at the child's elbow, and prompts the verification of the articles. The notion however is admitted to be of comparatively modern introduction, as late as the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Another essential difference between Brahmanism and Buddhism, was the proselyting spirit of the latter. Although Brahmanism has spread into countries where it could not have been indigenous, yet a Brahman, like a poet, "nascitur non fit;" and, consistent with the spirit of the code, a man must be born a Hindu, he cannot become a Hindu by conversion. The Buddhists adopted the opposite course, and hence, no doubt, their early success. The public teaching of Buddha or of the founders of the faith must have been so novel and attractive, that we can easily believe the Buddhist narratives, that vast multitudes of all classes and of both sexes attended the public preaching of the Buddhist missionaries, an encouraging precedent we may observe, by the way, for those of a pure religion. There are, however, some peculiar features in the teaching of Sákya and his disciples, which render it more surprising that it should ever have been successful than that its success should have been of temporary duration. Its object is not the good of the people in their social condition: it no doubt enjoins the observance of moral duties, and reverence to parents and teachers, and the general practice of compassion and benevolence, but to whom are these injunctions addressed? according to the authorities of the religion,

whether Sanscrit or Páli, to Bhikshus and Bhikshanís, persons who have separated themselves from the world, and who, besides professing faith in Buddha, engage to lead a life of self-denial, celibacy, and mendicancy, and to estrange themselves from all domestic and social obligations: with all its boasted benevolence it enjoins positive inhumanity where women are concerned, and in its anxiety for the purity of the mendicant, prescribes not only that he should not look at or converse with a female, but that, if she be his own mother and have fallen into a river, and be drowning, he shall not give her his hand to help her out; if there be a pole at hand he may reach that to her, but if not, she must drown. An interesting illustration of this barbarity occurs in the drama called Mrichchhakati, which represents Buddhist institutions with singular fidelity. In this spirit is the whole of the Vinaya or Buddhist discipline conceived: it is a set of rules for individuals separated from society, in whom all natural feeling is to be suppressed, all passions and desires extinguished, consistently enough with the doctrine that life is the source of all evil, and that one means of counteracting it is by the checking the increase of living beings. Rigid compliance with the restraints imposed, has, however, been found impracticable, and considerable latitude has been allowed in practice. The rules of abstinence and celibacy must be strictly observed whilst the individual continues in the order of the priesthood, but he may withdraw from that order, either for ever or for a season, and may marry and lead a secular life; he may, after an interval, be readmitted, and his second admission is considered as final, but even this does not seem to be very rigorously enforced.

Belief in a Supreme Being, the Creator and Ruler of the universe, is unquestionably a modern graft upon the unqualified atheism of Sákya Muni: it is still of very limited recognition. In none of the standard authorities translated by M. Burnouf, or Mr. Gogerley, is there the slightest allusion to such a First Cause, the existence of whom is incompatible with the fundamental Buddhist dogma, of the eternity of all existence? The doctrine of an Ádi Buddha, a first Buddha, in the character of a Supreme Creator, which has found its way into Nepal, and perhaps into Western Tibet, is entirely local, as is that of the Dhyání Buddhas and the Bodhisatwas, their sons and agents in creation, as described by Mr. Hodgson. They are not recognised in the Buddhist mythology of any other people, and have no doubt been borrowed from the Hindus. There can be *no First* Buddha, for it is of the essence of the system that Buddhas are of progressive development: any one may become a Buddha by passing through a series of existences in the practice of virtue and benevolence, and there have

been accordingly an infinitude of Buddhas in all ages and in all regions. One of the Páli authorities records the actions of twenty-four; Schmidt, from a Mongol work, has given us the names of a thousand Buddhas. (Trans. Soc. St. Petersburg, 2, 68.) There are Sanscrit authorities for seven in the present age of the world, whose praises I have translated, (Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii.) and who are represented in the Ajunta paintings. An eighth, Maitreya, is to come; but these are only a few, confined to certain periods: the number during all the extravagant intervals of Buddhist chronology has no limitation, and there can no more be a *first* than there can be a *last*, each passing on in his turn to the end and aim of his existence,—extinction—nirvána.

Utter extinction, as the great end and object of life, is also a fundamental, and in some respects a peculiar, feature of Buddhism. Nirvána is literally a blowing-out, as if of a candle,—annihilation: it has been objected to this that Buddhism recognises a system of rewards and punishments after death, and no doubt its cosmology is copiously furnished with heavens and hells; but this it has in common with Brahmanism: it is a part of the scheme of transmigration; the wicked are punished and the good rewarded, but the punishment and reward are only in proportion to their bad or good deeds, and when they have been balanced the individual returns to earth to run up a fresh score, to incur in fact, according to Buddhism, a fresh infliction of suffering, life being the cause of evil from which there is no escape, but by finally ceasing to be. Brahmanical speculation contemplates equally with Buddhism, exemption from being born again as the summum bonum, but proposes to effect this by spiritual absorption either into universal spirit, or into an all-comprehending divine spirit; but the Buddhists recognize no such recipient for the liberated soul. No doubt, amongst the Buddhists, as amongst the Brahmans, differences of opinion occasionally prevailed, giving rise to various schools; four of these were known to the Brahmanical controversial writers before the sixth century; but, besides them, who are styled Sautrántika, Vaibháshika, Mádhyamika, and Yogáchára, there was an Aiswarya, or theistical school, with which the notions admitted into Nepal may have originated: the more ancient and genuine school, however, was that of the Swabhávikas, whose doctrine is thus summarily indicated in a Buddhist Páli book: "Whence come existing things? from their own nature,—*swabhávát*. Where do they go to after life? into other forms, through the same inherent tendency. How do they escape from that tendency? where do they go finally? into vacuity,—*sunyatá*," such being the sum and substance of the wisdom of Buddha. That this was the meaning of Nirvána is shown in numerous passages both in

Sanscrit and in Páli. In the Saddharma Lankávatara, Sákya is represented as confuting all the Brahmanical notions of Nirvána, and concludes by expounding it to be the complete annihilation of the thinking principle, illustrating his doctrine by the comparison generally employed of the exhaustion of the light of a lamp which goes out of itself. In the Brahma-jála, a Páli Sútra, where again Sákya is made to confute sixty-two Brahmanical heresies, he winds up by saying: "Existence is a tree; the merit or demerit of the actions of men is the fruit of that tree and the seed of future trees; death is the withering away of the old tree from which the others have sprung; wisdom and virtue take away the germinating faculty, so that when the tree dies there is no reproduction. This is Nirván."

The segregation of the Buddhist priesthood from the people, although, in the first instance, probably popular, from the priestly character being thrown open to all castes alike, must have been unpropitious to the continued popularity of the system, and its success can only be attributed to the activity of its propagators, and the indolent acquiescence of the Brahmans. When the influence acquired by the Buddhists with the princes of India gave them consideration, and diverted the stream of donations as well as of honours, the Brahmans began to be aroused from their apathy, and set to work to arrest the progress of the schism. The success that attended their efforts could have been, for a long time, but partial; but that they were ultimately successful, and that Buddhism in India gave way before Brahmanism, is a historical fact: to what cause this was owing is by no means established, but it was more probably the result of internal decay, than of external violence. There are traditions of persecution, and it is very possible that local and occasional acts of aggression were perpetrated by the Brahmanical party: the Buddhist writings intimate this when they represent the Bodhisatwas as saying to Buddha: "When you have entered into Nirvána, and the end of time has arrived, we shall expound this excellent Sútra, in doing which we will endure, we will suffer patiently, injuries, violence, menaces of beating us with sticks, and the spitting upon us, with which ignorant men will assail us. The Tírthakas, composing Sútras of their own, will speak in the assembly to insult us. In the presence of kings, of the sons of kings, of the Brahmans, of Householders, and other religious persons, they will censure us in their discourses, and will cause the language of the Tírthakas to be heard; but we will endure all this through respect for the great Rishis. We must endure threatening looks, and repeated instances of contumely, and suffer expulsion from our Viháras, and submit to be imprisoned and punished in a variety of

ways; but recalling at the end of this period the commands of the chief of the world, we will preach courageously this Sútra in the midst of the assembly, and we will traverse towns, villages, the whole world, to give to those who will ask for it, the deposit which thou hast entrusted to us." This is the language of the Sad-dharma Pundaríka, which, as I have mentioned, had been translated into Chinese before the end of the third century, and shows that the career of the Buddhists had not been one of uninterrupted success, even at so early a date, although the opposition had not been such as to arrest their progress: this, if it at all occurred, was the work of a later period, but we have no very positive information on the subject. According to Mádhava Áchárya, a celebrated writer of the fourteenth century, the Buddhists of the south of India were exposed to a sanguinary persecution at the instigation of Kumáril Bhatta, the great authority of the Mimánsakas, who, as he preceded Sankara Áchárya, may have lived in the sixth or seventh century, or earlier. Mádhava asserts that, at his recommendation, a prince named Sudhanwan issued orders to put the Buddhists to death throughout the whole of India:

"Á-setor-á-tushádre Bauddhánám vriddhabálakán
na hanti sa hantavyo bhrityán ityanwasát nripah."

"The king commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the children of the Bauddhas, from the bridge of Ráma to the snowy mountain; let him who slays not be slain."

We do not know who Sudhanwan was, but his commands were not likely to be obeyed from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya, and whatever truth there may be in his making Buddhism a capital crime, his authority must have been of restricted extent, and the persecution limited to his own principality. The dissemination of Buddhism, however, in the countries beyond the Bay of Bengal does seem to have received a fresh impulse about the sixth or seventh centuries, and this may have been connected with some partial acts of persecution in India, and consequent emigration of the Buddhists; we have no record, however, of its having been universal, and its having been of any great extent may be reasonably doubted: it seems more likely that Buddhism died a natural death. With the discontinuance of the activity of its professors, who, yielding to the indolence which prosperity is apt to engender, ceased to traverse towns and villages in seeking to make proselytes, the Buddhist priest in India sunk into the sloth and ignorance which now characterise the bulk of the priests of the same religion in other countries, especially China, and seem there to be productive of the same result, working the decay and dissolution of the Buddhist religion.

Although expelled from India, and apparently in a state of decline in some of the regions in which it took refuge, Buddhism still numbers amongst its followers a large proportion of the human race. According to Berghaus, as quoted by Lassen, there are four hundred and fifty-five millions of Buddhists, whilst the population of the Christian states is reckoned at four hundred and seventy-four millions: Mohammedans and Hindoos are very much fewer. The enumeration of the Buddhists, however, includes the whole of the population of China, without adverting to their distribution as the followers of Confucius or Taü-se, or, as we have lately learned, as the professors of a composite Christianity.

Numerous, however, as the Buddhists still are, the system seems to be on the decline, where it is not upheld by the policy of the local governments, or where the priesthood does not constitute a very large share of the population. The people in general do not seem to take much interest in the worship of the temples, nor to entertain any particular veneration for their priests. The temples are always open, and service is regularly performed, usually three times a day, like the Sandhya of the Brahmans: on these occasions the priests assemble, usually seated in two divisions or semi-choirs, who chaunt passages from the sacred books, Tibetan, Páli, or Sanscrit, the two latter being utterly unintelligible to the people, and understood by very few of the priests. The chaunting is relieved by the accompaniment of bells, and cymbals, and drums, and the blowing of the conch shells or brass trumpets, or, in the eastern Himalaya, of trumpets made of human thigh bones; incense is burnt before the images of the Buddhas, and fruit and flowers, and dishes of food placed before them. The people take no part in this performance, and come in small numbers, at their own convenience, and make their offering and prostration, and then depart. The priests, again, are said to enjoy little personal consideration, not that they forfeit it by any conduct inconsistent with their profession, for, although there may be occasional exceptions, they seem in general to lead inoffensive, if useless, lives. In Ceylon, according to Sir Emerson Tennent, the people pay more respect to the garb than to the wearer, and take every opportunity of making it known that the yellow robe, and not the individual, is the object of their veneration. According to Mr. Hardy, the whole number of priests in Ceylon, although many of the communities possess extensive landed estates, the gifts of the piety of former princes, does not exceed 2,500, dispersed in monasteries, the largest of which has seldom more than twenty resident members. In Fa Hian's time there were, according to him, from 50,000 to 60,000 priests in

Ceylon, and in one of the monasteries at Anurádhapura, there were 5,000. Mr. Hardy adds: "in no part of the island that I have visited, do the priests as a body appear to be respected by the people: although occasionally an individual may recommend himself by agreeable manners:" they are sometimes treated unceremoniously; and he mentions an instance in which a priest was driven out of a village by the women armed with their brooms, and threatening him with personal castigation. In the Burma country the priests are more numerous, but there also they are said to have but little influence over the minds of the people, who sometimes say, not without some reason, in excuse of impropriety of conduct, that the precepts of the law are not for them but for the priests. The system, however, is supported by the Government, and a high priest resides at the capital, by whom all the Punghis, or heads of establishments, are appointed. Although tolerant of the practice of other religions by those who profess them, secession from the national belief is rigidly prohibited, and a convert to any other form of faith incurs the penalty of death. The condition of Buddhism is said to be prosperous; from 2,000 to 3,000 lay worshippers make daily offerings at the great temple of the Shwe-dagon, near Rangoon; and new temples and Kyums are daily springing up, even in the districts under British authority. One great source of influence in Ava is the monopoly of education by the priesthood, and which, such as it is, is very general. Almost every Burman can write and read, for which he has to thank the Kyum or monastery of his village. Buddhism is also flourishing in Siam, where, as in Ava, it is connected with the political institutions of the state, and, with the mass of the population: every male must enter the order of the priesthood at some period of his life, for however short a time; even the king must become a priest for two or three days, wearing the mendicant dress and soliciting alms of his courtiers. The high officers of the state sometimes take up their abode in a monastery, and conform to all the rules of the fraternity for two or three months together. The priests, or Talapoins as they are termed, from carrying a Tála or palm-leaf as a fan, are consequently numerous, but the permanent inhabitants of the monasteries are either persons disgusted with life, or the old and infirm; the younger and more active members continually falling back into society. The share taken by the sovereign in the organisation of the system seems to be the chief source of its prosperity.

We have no very recent accounts of the condition of Buddhism in Japan, although, to judge from the drawings of Col. Siebold in his "Nipon," the ordinary objects of Buddhist worship are numerous, and

comprehend many of the later saints of the system as well as personages apparently of peculiar and local sanctity. Buddhism also is broken up into various sectarial divisions. In China, as far as there has been any opportunity of ascertaining, which however is almost confined to the maritime districts, it is evidently on the wane: although a few monasteries are respectably tenanted, the residents are much less numerous than they have been, and many are altogether deserted; many of the temples also are in a state of decay. The majority of the priests are illiterate, and seem to hold their offices and their idols in little veneration; the people regard the priests with little respect, or in some instances with contempt, and attach no great sanctity to the objects of their worship,—a curious instance of this indifference in both is mentioned by the Rev. Mr. Smith, the present Bishop of Victoria. In a temple belonging to a monastery, where he was allowed to occupy a residence, he first inadvertently and then designedly, overthrew several idols, which, being of clay, were broken by the fall, amidst, he says, the laughter of the bystanders. He resided several weeks in the monastery of Teen-tsung near Ningpo, where he constantly distributed Christian tracts in Chinese, without any hindrance or molestation.

The late Mr. Gutzlaff, in a paper in our Journal now in course of printing,[1] agrees entirely in the description given by Bishop Smith of the ignorance of the Buddhist priesthood, of the low estimation in which the priests are held, and the absence of all really religious feeling in the people.

It is in the north and north-west of China, extending thence through Mongolia and Eastern Tibet to Lhassa, that the chief seats of Buddhism are to be found, as we learn from the travels of the French missionaries, Messrs. Huc and Gabet, who traversed the whole interval. Throughout their entire route they met with, or heard of, what they term Lamaserais, that is, Viháras, or monasteries connected with temples, inhabited by numerous resident Lamas, as well as having attached to them a number of itinerant mendicant brethren. At a monastery, at a place called Chor-chi, there were two thousand resident Lamas. At a city, which they translate Blue-town, there were twenty establishments, large and small, inhabited by at least twenty thousand Lamas. At the monastery of Kun-lun, where they were allowed to take up their residence for several months, there were four thousand resident Lamas. At the chief monastery of Tartary, that of the Khalkas and in its vicinity, there were, it is said, thirty thousand

[1] Ante, p. 73.

Lamas, the head of whom exercised the temporal as well as spiritual authority of the whole country, and was an object of uneasiness to the court of Pekin. In the province of which Lhassa, the acknowledged high seat of Lamaism, is the capital, there were said to be three thousand monastic establishments, in three of which, Khaldan, Prebung, and Sera, there were in each fifteen thousand Lamas. The missionaries estimate the Lamas at one-third of the whole population; all the males of a family, except the eldest, being expected to enter the order, at least for a term; it being allowable in Tartary, as well as in other Buddhist countries, for a member of a monastery to return to active life. Every monastery has its Superior, who is very commonly originally a boy brought from Tibet, being supposed to be the late principal regenerated; he being, in fact, as before observed, a Buddha on his way to perfection.

The vast number of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet naturally suggests the inquiry, how countries so poor, upon the whole, and thinly peopled, can support so large a proportion of unproductive members. Some of their subsistence is derived from grants and endowments made by the Emperors of China, whose policy it has been to encourage Lamaism, as tending to keep down the population, and repress the martial spirit of the nomadic tribes: further means are supplied by the people, who are a simple and credulous race, and who, although not animated by any devotional fervour, are liberal contributors to the temples at public festivals, and to the itinerant mendicant brethren, giving largely from their stores of sheep, and wool, and butter, and various articles of consumption. The chief maintenance of the Lamas is, however, their own industry. In the Buddhist countries of the south, as Ceylon, Siam, and Ava, and apparently in China, a priest is strictly prohibited from exercising any mechanical art, or following any secular occupation; but in Tartary, the Lamas are permitted to support themselves by their own industry, even whilst living in the monastery: the monastery being, in fact, a small town of a priestly population, dwelling in houses, in streets collected round a principal temple or temples, and the main buildings occupied by the Pontiff with his staff and servants. The other Lamas are the sculptors, painters, decorators, and printers of the establishment; those who are qualified are the schoolmasters of the children of the neighbourhood, who have no other teachers; and those who are not engaged in the service of the monastery, may employ their time for their own profit. There are amongst them, consequently, handicraftsmen, as tailors, shoemakers, hatters; some keep cattle and sell the milk and butter to the brethren, and some even keep

shops; the consequence is great inequality of condition; those who are active and enterprising become opulent, whilst the inert and idle, who trust solely to the pittance which is doled out periodically to every member, from the common fund, may be almost in a state of starvation.

The general organization of the monasteries in Tartary and Tibet, the costume of the Lamas, and many particulars of the manner in which religious service is celebrated in the temples, have often struck travellers as presenting close analogies to the conventual system and the religious offices of the Roman Catholic Church. In this latter respect, we have the admission of the French missionaries, whose enumeration we may safely follow, and who specify the use of the cross, the mitre, the dalmatic, the hood, the office of two choirs, the psalmody, the exorcisms, the censer of five chains, the benediction of the lamas by placing the right hand on the head of the faithful, the rosary, celibacy of the clergy, spiritual retirement, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, and holy water, as so many coincidences with the Romish ritual, the origin of which cannot be accidental. The present costume and ceremonial are said to have originated with a celebrated reformer, who was born in the latter half of the fourteenth century, named Tsong Kaba, who founded the monastery of Khal-dan, near Lhassa, in 1409, and died in 1419. The chief pontiff of Lhassa at first opposed the innovations of Tsong Kaba, and having in vain invited him to a conference, paid a visit to the reformer, and expatiated at great length upon the sacredness of the ancient practices and his own preeminence; he was interrupted in his harangue by Tsong Kaba, who had previously taken no notice of him, and who suddenly exclaimed: "Wretch, let go the flea that you are torturing between your thumb and forefinger! I hear his groans, they penetrate to my heart." Fleas, it seems, are very abundant in Thibet, and the Grand Lama, in violation of the precept that says, Thou shalt not kill, was privily in the act of committing murder, when thus rebuked by Tsong Kaba. Struck by this proof of Tsong Kaba's divine perception, the Grand Lama acknowledged his supremacy, prostrated himself before him, and adopted his reforms. Tradition speaks of a stranger Lama from the west, who was Tsong Kaba's preceptor, and who was remarkable amongst other things for a long nose; noses in Tartary are somewhat of the shortest; from which circumstance, as well as from the palpable resemblances adverted to, Messieurs Huc and Gabet infer, not without some plausibility, that Tsong Kaba derived his innovations from the instruction of a Euro-

pean missionary, several of whom at this early period had penetrated into Tibet, Tartary, and China.

The peculiarities of the costume are certainly foreign to the original institutes of the Vinaya, which is much more faithfully followed in the south. The shaven head and yellow robes of the priests of Ceylon, Ava, and Siam, are much more orthodox than the red robes and yellow hats or mitres of the Lamas of Tartary and Tibet.

Notwithstanding the liberality shewn by the people of Tibet, especially at particular festivals, to their monasteries and temples, they take no part in the celebration of the religious services, nor do they evince any stronger devotional interest than prevails in other Buddhist countries. In all of them, however, there are powerful means by which the priests work upon their feelings, and secure their adherence, and extort their bounty. Everywhere, except in China, learning, such as it is, is confined to the priesthood, and they are the sole instructors of youth; they are also the collectors and vendors of drugs, and the practisers of medicine. They still, as in the days of Clement, foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even, eventually, the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstition, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the Lamas, as their only protection against them; the Lamas in Tartary are, therefore, constantly exorcists and magicians, sharing, no doubt, very often, the credulity of the people, but frequently assisting faith in their superhuman faculties by jugglery and fraud. In the most northern provinces of Russia, Buddhism, degraded to Shamanism, is nothing more than a miserable display of juggling tricks and deceptions, and even in the Lamasarais of Tibet, exhibitions of the same kind are permitted, whatever may be the belief and practice of those of the community who are better instructed, and take no part in them, themselves. Ignorance is at the root of the whole system, and it must fall to pieces with the extension of knowledge and civilisation. A striking conformity in this conclusion is expressed by the missionaries of different Christian communities. Messieurs Huc and Gabet observe: "After all we have seen in our long journey, and especially during our sojourn in the monarchy of Kun Lun, we are persuaded that it is by education, not by controversy, that the conversion of these people is to be most efficaciously promoted"; and we

learn from Erman, in his late travels in Siberia, that both the Russian and English missionaries at Irkutsk, and on the Selinga, had abandoned all attempts at direct conversion, and had confined themselves to the cultivation of the Mongol and Manchu languages, in order to qualify themselves to give education to the people. The process is unavoidably slow, especially in Central Asia, which is almost beyond the reach of European activity and zeal, but there is no occasion to despair of ultimate success. Various agencies are at work, both in the north and the south, before whose salutary influence civilisation is extending; and the ignorance and superstition which are the main props of Buddhism, must be overturned by its advance.

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BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF KING PRIYADARSÍ.

Translation and Observations by PROFESSOR WILSON.

WHEN laying before the Society the results of my examination of the Girnár, Dhauli and Kapur di giri inscriptions of Raja Priyadarsí I. expressed an opinion, that, although the tenor of the inscriptions was not incompatible with a leaning to the religion of Buddha, yet the total absence of any positive indication of the usual epithets of Buddha, or any reference to the peculiarities of the Buddhist system, left some uncertainty with regard to the actual creed of the Raja, and his intimate connection with the followers of Buddha.

I was not unaware that at that time a monument existed, which, if it was worthy of credit, was calculated to remove all doubt on the subject, and that the name of Priyadarsí was to be found in connection with that of Buddha in an ancient inscription, the text of which, as well as a translation, had been published in the ninth volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; but I found such reason to question the accuracy of the translation, and so much difficulty in suggesting anything more satisfactory, that I hesitated to admit the fidelity of the transcript, and waited till further investigation should justify or correct the reading of the original. This has now been done, and although the text is not without its difficulties, yet there is enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact that Priyadarsí, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha.

The inscription I refer to was found by Major Burt, upon a block of granite, about two feet in length and breadth, lying adjacent to a place named Bairath, six kos east of Bhabra, three marches north-east of Jaypur. A copy from a fac-simile was sent by him in August, 1840, to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, where, with the assistance of the Pundit Kamala Kanta, the text was printed with a translation by the late Major Kittoe, by whose talents, activity, and zeal the antiquities of India have been on many occasions successfully illustrated. In the present instance, although some of the leading topics of the inscription admitted of little doubt, yet many of the terms were so unfamiliar, and the identifications of the Pundit so very unsatisfactory, that no reliance could be placed upon the translation, and it was obviously necessary to await some further verification of the original,

especially as the stone itself had been sent to Calcutta, and deposited with the Society.

In the meantime, however, the return of Major Burt to this country has furnished us with the means of verifying the reading of the original inscription, by the communication of the fac-simile taken by him; of his own corrected transcript; and its Nágarí representative. The fac-simile is here lithographed, the Nágarí reading is subjoined. unfortunately, the fac-simile is somewhat the worse for wear, and besides the imperfections of the stone itself, there are some deficiencies, which, however, may be filled up from the transcript made by Major Burt before the document was damaged: the passages from the original transcript are given in double outline in the lithograph. The stone itself is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Major Burt's Nágarí rendering is as follows:

1. पियदसि ला (जा) मागधें संघं अभिवादे (वा) नं आहा अपाबाधतं च फिसु विहालतं चा

2. विदितेवे भंते आवतकेहा मा बुधसि धंमसि संघसीतिं गालवे चां पसादे च एकेचि भंते

3. भगवता बुधेन भासिते सवेसे सुभासिते वा एचु खा भंते पामियाये दिसेया हेवं सधंमें

4. चिले (वा) ती के हासतीति अलहामि हकां तंवातवे दूमानि भंते धंमपलियायानि विनयसमुकसे

5. अलियवसाणि अनागतभयानि मुनिगाथा मोनेयसुते उपतिसपसिने एचा लाधुलो

6. वादे मुसावा (?) अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम पलियायानि दूच्छामि

7. कितिवहुके भिखपाये चा भिखांनिये चा अभिखिनं सुनयुचा उपधालेयेयु चा

8. हेवं मेवा उपासका चा उपासीका चा एतेनि भंते दूमं लिखाधेयामि अभिहेंतिमेजा उतंति

ץרפ ׳ג ׳ב ׳א ׳ד ׳ה ׳ו ׳ז ׳ח ׳ט ׳י ׳כ ׳ל ׳מ ׳נ ׳ס ׳ע ׳פ ׳צ ׳ק ׳ר ׳ש ׳ת

ץרפ ׳ג ׳ב ׳א ׳ד ׳ה ׳ו ׳ז ׳ח ׳ט ׳י ׳כ ׳ל ׳מ ׳נ ׳ס ׳ע ׳פ ׳צ ׳ק ׳ר ׳ש ׳ת

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1. Piyadasi lá (já) Mágadhen sangham abhiváde (vá) nam áhá apábádhatam cha phisu vihálatam chá

2. Viditeve bhante ávatakehá má budhasi dhammasi sanghasítin gálave chám pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite savese subhásite vá echu khá bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chile (vá) tí ke hásatíti alahámi hakám tamvátave imáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni vinayasamukase

5. Aliyavasáñi anágatabhayáni munigáthá moneyasute upatisapasine echá lághulo

6. Váde musává (?) adhigichya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etán bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. Kitibahuke bhikhapá ye chá bhikhánni ye chá abhikhinam sunayu chá upadhálayeyu chá

8. Hevam mevá upásaká chá upásoká chá eteni bhante imam likhádhaiyámi abhihetimejá utanîí.

My own transcript from the fac-simile differs in some respects from the preceding: the differences are not in general very material, and may in part arise from the difficulty of discriminating between dots and vowel marks and flaws or imperfections in the stone, and in part from corrections obviously required—thus, *chá,* with the long final vowel, is either a dialectical peculiarity or an inaccuracy for *cha* with a short final, as it sometimes appears in the original.

1. Piyadasi lá (já) mágadhe sangham abhiváde (má) nam áha apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha

2. viditeva bhante ávatake ha má budhasi dhammasi sanghasíti golave cham (?) pasáde cha ekechi bhante

3. Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite save se subhásite vá echu kho bhante pámiyáye diseyá hevam sadhamme

4. Chila (va) tí ke hosatíti alahámi há (ki) tavátáve imáni bhante (dham) ma paliyáyáni vinayasa makase

5. aliyavasáni anágatabhayáni muni gáthá mauneya súte (u) patása pasine echá lághulo

6. váda musává(cha)m adhigachya bhagavatá budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyáyáni ichchámi

7. kíti bahuke bhikhapá ye cha bhikhani ye cha abhikhinam sunayu cha upadháleyeyu cha

8. Hevam meva upásaká cha upásiká cha etáni bhante ima(m) likhá (pa) yámi abhi heti maja (nan)titi.

The importance of this inscription has, as might have been

anticipated, engaged the attention of Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, vol. ii., p. 221), and of the late M. Burnouf. The observations of the latter exhibit that careful and cautious spirit, as well as profound knowledge, and patient ingenuity, which characterized that lamented scholar's researches. They are published in the appendix to his translation of the Lotus de la bonne loi, with other valuable dissertations, which have appeared as a posthumous publication. I propose to compare his renderings with those which I would suggest; and, in differing occasionally from his version, I avail myself of his own candid and just remark, that as no one can flatter himself that he can at once arrive at a definitive comprehension of these difficult monuments, so there is no one that may not hope to contribute to their interpretation.

The inscription opens with the name of the prince Priyadarsí, omitting the title, beloved of the gods, which occurs in his other inscriptions; it is followed by the syllable lá, no doubt the first of lájá for rájá, the second syllable being indistinct; the next words are Mágadhe sangham, which M. Burnouf would correct to Mágadham, but the syllable is clearly dhe, and the supposed dot or anuswára may be merely a defect in the stone—the nasal after sangha is indistinct, but it is apparently there; the sense will not be affected—the assembly of or in Magadha. The next term is partially defective, but it should no doubt be abhivádemánam, for abhivádyamánam, salutable respectfully, venerable, an epithet of the sangha or assembly, to whom the raja, áha, speaks.

The words that follow are of less obvious construction and import; they appear to be apabádhatam cha pisu vihálatam cha. The Calcutta reading is apabhadatam cha phásu vihala tam cha. Major Burt reads "phisu" for the first member of the last phrase. The vowel is clearly "i," but the consonant is questionable. Kamala Kanta renders these words, with the preceding, "The raja speaks—that the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known to you—spare them;" a translation decidedly wrong. M. Burnouf shows that apabádha occurs in Mágadhi texts for alpabádha, little pain, and that phisu has the sense of happiness, ease, and infers that the raja wishes the assembly, peu de peines, et une existence agréable. It is difficult to suggest anything more probable; but the explanation does not carry conviction with it: if we could read pasu for pisu, we might perhaps be allowed to render it more consonantly to Buddhist ideas, and translate the passage, the raja recommends to the assembly the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals, pasuviháratám.

The second line begins viditeva, verily it is known, in which all

agree; but this is followed by a word that frequently occurs in this inscription, of which the use is not familiar—Bhante or Bhamte. Kamala Kanta identifies it with the Sanskrit bhante, but in what sense is not very obvious; thus, viditam eva bhánte, he translates, is well known unto you; ichchuka bhánteh, those who act thus; etáni bhante, hearing these things—manifest inconsistencies and blunders. M. Burnouf renders it throughout by Seigneurs, Sirs, considering it the Prákrit form of the Sanskrit Bhavantah, the plural of the honorific pronoun Bhaván, your honour, your reverence, in which I was at first disposed to concur, but have since had reason to doubt its accuracy. If any authority, which he probably had, is given by M. Burnouf, it has escaped my notice; but in turning over the leaves of a Jaina work (the Parikramana vidhi), which, according to Dr. Stevenson, means the Rules of Confession to a Guru, I found the word Bhante in the section of the Bárah vrata (or Twelve obligations) repeated fourteen times, and in every instance with the pronoun aham —aham bhante—preceding apparently some promise or admission: I declare, I promise, or acknowledge. The book is written in the Mágadhi of the Jainas, mixed with provincial Hindi, and is full of technicalities, which it would require a learned Yati to expound. The purport of each declaration, therefore, I cannot pretend to explain; but there can be little doubt that aham bhante means I say or declare—no doubt from the Sanskrit root *bhan*, to say or speak.[1]

M. Burnouf is also most probably correct in his proposed rendering of yávatake, for ávatake, citing many examples of such

[1] The following is one of the fourteen declarations in the Jain work referred to, and will convey a notion of the language employed:—"Aham bhante apachchhimá maranantiyá sankhaná dhúsaná tasa vayassa ime pancha aïyára payálá tam jahá ihaloga sahassa paüge jíviyá sahassa paüge maraná sahassa paüge káma bhogasahassa paüge mábhanum mujh maranantiya e chyár nánasavisaye dansanasavisaye paucha-anuvayamsavisaye tinnayuñavayamsavisaye chattarasishávayamsavisaye bárah vratám máuhi gyán ke bich man kari vachan kari káya kari jo köí dúshan lagá höí Bítrágjí tumari sákhi gurudebji tumari sákhi kari dúshan lágá höi tassam ichhámi dukkadam." The last words are good Hindi, and may be rendered, "if there should occur any fault of mind, speech, or body in respect of knowledge with regard to the twelve obligations, should such fault occur in your conviction, passionless sage, or in your conviction, spiritual teacher, then I wish or consent (to perform) its difficult (expiation)." In what precedes we have a series of technical terms for which an interpreter is needed. For the only published work of the Jainas, the Kalpa Sutra, we are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. According to him, Parikammane, or Parikramana, is going to confess to a Guru; vaya is used for vrata, and aïyára for áchára. Sanskrit equivalents for several of the terms may be readily suggested, but the sense of the special denominations is peculiar to the Jains.

elision. The following letter is indistinct, and may be hi, instead of ha; má, may be intended for me, or mama, my: the three next terms, which are very important, as involving the recognition of the whole Buddhist system, are undoubtedly buddhasi dhammasi sanghasi; the locative case of the páli noun, in Buddha—in dharma, or the law—and in the Sangha, or congregation. Kamala Kánta M. Burnouf agree in considering the next word gálave, or possibly golave, for the vowel marks are questionable, as representing gaurava, respect. The following character, cham, is doubtful; but pasáde, for prasáda, favour, is clear enough, and is followed by the conjunction cha, so that the first chá may be nothing more; in this way a probable meaning may be given to the sentence: "It is well known to what extent both my respect and favour (are placed in) Buddha, the law, and the assembly." The Calcutta rendering, "For those of the Buddhist faith such offering is not meet; the offering of upasad is best of all," is simply nonsense.

Much more cannot be said in favour of what follows: "Some there are who kill: that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion of his commandments was well spoken." M. Burnouf has more correctly, "All, Sirs, that was spoken by the divine Buddha was well spoken." There is a flaw in the stone after Bhaga, which may be unexceptionably filled up by va, making, with the following syllable tá, Bhagavatá, a usual epithet of Buddha. E kechi, at the end of line 2, may very probably be read as M. Burnouf proposes, ye kechit, whatsoever things or words, referring to bhásite, but the following, bhante, will mean, I affirm.

Echu kho, M. Burnouf reads, ye cha khalu, what verily; but it were perhaps preferable to read the first, eshu, in those things or words; and for the following pámiyáye diseyá, we may read prameyo drisyate, "capability of proof is to be seen—so the pure law Saddharma will continue for a long time." The commencement of the fourth line is much defaced; but chila, for chira, long, is clear enough; hosatíti is for bhavishyati, will be.

Alahámi hakám is the reading of Major Burt's copy, but the first syllable of the second term appears to be há long, and the vowel of the second is indistinct in the original. M. Burnouf proposes to render the words by arhámi aham, I think it right; hákam being met with in other inscriptions for ahikam. I consider this, however, as far from satisfactory, although I cannot offer anything more so. Tavatáve may very probably be for távat távat, so much, to such an extent; perhaps rendering alahámi by arhámi, it might be interpreted, "I am worthy of, or fit for; I expect this to such and such extent;"

but the passage is doubtful. The Calcutta rendering is altogether absurd, and founded on an erroneous reading of the text.

The next words are apparently imáni bhante, but then succeeds a flaw. M. Burnouf would supply it by dha, as in Major Burt's Nágarí transcript; and this is probably correct, especially in connection with the following paliyáyáni, instead of the payayáni of the Calcutta transcript, and which M. Burnouf considers to be paryayáni, expositions, or injunctions, or precepts of the law, which is not unlikely, the law being that of the chief discipline, vinayasya mukhyasa, for vinayasa makasa. Major Burt's transcript reads mukase. M. Burnouf would read the two words vinaya símokase, limites de la discipline; but, although there is some indistinctness in the original, the preferable reading seems to be that which is here suggested.

With regard to the ensuing terms aliyavasáni and anágatabhayáni, which are sufficiently distinct, M. Burnouf declares that he entertains no doubt, and translates them, "Les facultés surnaturelles des Aryas, et les terreurs de l'avenir." I cannot share his confidence; the second phrase, unarrived, or future dangers, is unquestionable; but the reading and purport of the first are by no means obvious. Aliyavasáni might represent ari-avasáni, end or destruction of, or by enemies; or if the first word be árya, it may be used as signifying the Brahmans: vasa may mean subjection to, that is, the opposition or persecution of the Brahmans. That the term implies something evil is probable from its connection with anágata bhayáni, future dangers.

For muni gáthá we may accept the songs or verses of the sage; les stances du solitaire; meaning, according to M. Burnouf, Sákya himself, which is rather doubtful. The first syllable of the next term is rather indistinct, but the word may be mauneya sute; the sútras of the munis. Now if these are to be connected with the notion of future dangers they must relate to the texts antagonistic to the Buddhists, and may indicate the verses of the Vedas, and the aphorisms of the philosophers, Kapila and the rest.

M. Burnouf reads, with the Nágarí version, the next words, upatisa pasine e cha lághulováde, which he renders, "la spéculation d' Upatissa et l'instruction de Ráhula," conceiving the text to contain the names of Upatissa, one of Sákya's principal disciples, and of Ráhula, his son. The reading of the first is doubtful, the initial may be an "u," but it is indistinct, and the third syllable is more like tá than tí. Pasine, M. Burnouf would connect with pasya, behold, as if alluding to the views or doctrines of Upatissa; but, in that case, we should have Upatisasa, not Upatisa, and if we could suppose the insertion of an "s" after tá to be a blunder, it would give us upatápasine for upatapaswinah,

inferior or pretended ascetics. For e chá lághulovado, M. Burnouf refers, ováde to avaváda, instruction, but it would rather imply reproof; but, as M. Burnouf indicates, there is a sútra of the Mahá-wanso headed Ráhulováda, or, as translated by Turnour, admonitory discourse addressed by Buddha to Ráhula, which is no doubt in favour of M. Burnouf's rendering. At the same time it may be allowable to give it a different construction and signification, and to render it, laghu loka váda, the light or censorious language of the world; a sense which would agree with what follows, if we explain musaváchaṁ as M. Burnouf proposes, doctrines fausses. The next word adhigichya may be an error for adhigachya, the Prákrit form of adhigatya, having gone over, or having overcome, or refuted, rejeté.

The following passage is intelligible enough, and may be connected with the preceding: Bhagavatá Budhena bhásite etáni bhante dhamma paliyayáni ichhámi, I affirm these things, said by the divine Buddha, and desire (them to be considered) as the precepts of the law.

Kiti bahuke may be the reading of the following words, but the sense is not very distinct. M. Burnouf renders them, "c'est la gloire à laquelle je tiens la plus," understanding by kiti, kírtti, fame; but this seems doubtful. The Calcutta version "you all," appears to come nearer to the sense, which is, perhaps, as many as there may be; that is, mendicants, male and female—although the designations are unusual Bhikhapá ye cha Bhikhanni ye cha instead of Bhikhu and Bhikhuni; abhikhanam is the Sanskrit abhikshanam, always, perpetually.

The fac-simile here presents a flaw, preceded by suna, and followed by two indistinct letters, and then the legible words dhálayeyu cha; the transcript of Major Burt reads the passage as if it had been perfect when the fac-simile was taken, sunayu cha upadhálayeyu cha, which may be rendered without any violence, may they the mendicants hear and observe.

The beginning of the last line is somewhat indistinct; but it is probably as in the transcript, hevam eva, verily; so also, upásaká cha upásiká cha, both the male and female secular followers (are to hear and observe) those things; upasoka, for the second of these, is apparently an error: etáni, (for which), I declare, I have caused this to be written—imam li — after which, in the present state of the fac-simile there is a blank followed by several letters, some only of which are legible. Major Burt's transcript reads, likhádhaiyámi, probably for likhápayámi: then follow abhihetimejá untá, words very unintelligible. They are corrected in the Calcutta version to abhimate

me cha untati, which are explained, this is my desire and will. M. Burnouf conceives untati may be an error for ukti, declaration. Professor Lassen suggests, with more plausibility, that the sentence should be abhimati me hotite; it is rather, perhaps, abhimati me hosatíti—this will be my pleasure.

Although therefore unable to offer an entirely satisfactory version of this inscription, and while hesitating to admit it as evidence, as M. Burnouf is disposed to regard it, of the existence at the time of the principal Buddhist authorities, the Vinaya, Sútras, Gáthás, and the writings of Upatissa and Ráhula, we cannot refuse to accept it as decisive of the encouragement of Buddhism by Priyadarsi; the indications of which are sufficiently positive, setting aside the apocryphal allusions to Upatissa and Ráhula. We have Buddha designated by name, and with the title by which he is most frequently styled, Bhagavat—divine or lord. We have the Buddhist triad distinctly specified—the law, dharma—the assembly, sangha—and Buddha; and the inscription is addressed to the second, or the body of the church, in Magadha, the country in which the religion first took root and long predominated; and we have the two classes of Buddha's followers specified, the clerical, or male and female mendicants—Bhikshus and Bhikshunis—and the lay or the male and female worshippers, or Upásakas and Upásikás. The document is therefore unquestionably Buddhist. It is somewhat defective in being without any date. Major Kittoe thinks it refers to the convocation said to have been held at Páṭaliputra, in the 17th year of Dharmásoka's reign, or A.D. 309; but this is merely conjecture.

I subjoin the three translations of this short inscription, for the convenience of comparison, and for the purpose of illustrating the difficulty of interpreting such documents, and the little dependence to be placed upon the versions of the Pundits, without very careful supervision.

Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Propoed Translations.*
Piadasi (the beloved) Raja, unto the multitude assembled in Mágadha, saluting them, speaks thus:	The king Piyadasi to the assembly of Mágadha, which he has saluted, wishes few troubles, and an agreeable existence.	Piyadasi, the king, to the venerable assembly of Mágadha, commands the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals.
That the sacrifice of animals is forbidden is well known unto you: spare them! for those who are of the Buddhist faith such sacrifice is not meet: the offering of Upasad is best of all.	It is well known, Sirs, to what extent proceed my respect and faith for Buddha, for the law, and for the assembly.	It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favour (are placed) in Buddha, in the law, and in the assembly.
Some there are who kill: that which the supreme Buddha spake at the conclusion (of his commandments) was well spoken.	All that has been said, Sirs, by the blessed Budda, all that only has been well spoken: it must be shewn therefore, Sirs, what are the authorities (for what he said),	Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have all been well said, and in them, verily I declare that capability of proof is to be discerned: so that the pure law (which they teach) will be of
Those who act thus follow in the right path: they will remain healthy in their faith for a long time to come.	in this manner the good law will be of long duration: that is what I myself think necessary.	long duration, as far as I am worthy (of being obeyed)
There are some who make blood-offerings; but of these there are few; this is right and proper (the Buddhist creed): these of the faith I protect; likewise those who keep company with the righteous and uncovetous.	In the meanwhile, Sirs, the subjects which the law embraces, the limits designated by the Vinaya, the supernatural faculties of the Aryas, the dangers of the future—	For these, I declare, are the precepts of the law of the principal discipline (Vinaya), having overcome the oppressions of the Aryas, and future perils—

Calcutta Translation.	*M. Burnouf.*	*Proposed Translation.*
The scriptures of the Munis (the Vedas) are observed by their disciples; their future state is to be dreaded: the texts of the Vedas, in which the sacrifice (of animals) is enjoined are mean and false: obey them not.	The stanzas of the Solitary (Buddha), the sutras of the Solitary, the speculations of Upatissa, solely the instruction of Ráhula, rejecting the false doctrines.	(and refuted), the songs of the Munis, the sútras of the Munis, (the practices) of inferior ascetics, the censure of a light world, and (all) false doctrines.
Follow that which the lord Buddha hath commanded: do so for the glorification of the faith.	This is what has been said by the blessed Buddha: these topics which the law embraces, I desire, Sirs, and it is the glory to which I am most attached.	These things as declared by the divine Buddha, I proclaim and I desire them to be regarded as the precepts of the law.
This I desire that all of ye priests and priestesses, religious men and religious women; yea, every one of you hearing this, bear it in your hearts.	That the male and female ascetics may hear and meditate upon them constantly; as well as the faithful of both sexes.	And that as many as there may be, male and female mendicants, may hear and observe them, constantly as well also as male and female followers (of the laity).
This my pleasure I have caused to be written: yea, I have devised it.	It is for that purpose that I have caused this to be written—such is my pleasure and my declaration.	These things I affirm, and have caused this to be written (to make known to you) that such will be my intention.

[*From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*]

Summary Review of the Travels of Hiouen Thsang[1], *from the Translation of the Si-yu-ki by* M. JULIEN, *and the Mémoire Analytique of* M. VIVIEN DE ST. MARTIN.

BY PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON,

DIRECTOR OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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IN an appendix to the publication of the translation of the Travels of *Fa Hian*, the *Foe Koue Ki*, was added an itinerary professing to be that of another Chinese traveller, *Hiouen Thsang*, who visited India in the first half of the seventh century. As it was an extract from a geographical Encyclopædia of comparatively recent compilation, some doubt was suggested as to the degree of confidence to which it was entitled, although enough of interest was obviously attached to the account, and it was most desirable that we should have access to the original through the medium of a translation into some familiar idiom. The eyes of European scholars were naturally directed to the most eminent of sinologues, M. Stanislas Julien, who, in compliance with their wishes, undertook and has now completed the task. Some notice of the result of his labours will be, no doubt, acceptable to the Royal Asiatic Society, although the limited space that is compatible with the extent of the Journal compels me to a more summary review than a careful and minute analysis would require.

It appears, however, that no account of his travels written by himself was ever prepared by Hiouen Thsang. M. Julien has translated two works relating to these travels, but neither is the performance of Hiouen Thsang himself. The first is a biographical notice of him, in which his travels form a principal feature: this was composed by two of his scholars, Hoei-li and Tsang-yan, and published

[1] I have retained, in regard to the name of the traveller, the spelling of M. Julien, *Hiouen Thsang*, although, in following the French pronunciation, it is necessary to render *ou* by *u* or *oo*; preferring the former, the first name should be written therefore Anglice, *Hiuen*, or perhaps even *Huen* if it be a monosyllable, as English sinologues write *Foe-koue-ki*, "*Foe-kwe-ki*." I have thought it right, however, to leave the name as it is written in French, as likely to be more generally known under that form: in all other instances I have represented *ou* by *u*, as in the frequently recurring term *Poulo*, "*Pulo*," from the Sanskrit *Pura*, "a city." I have also made a few other necessary adaptations, as *ch* for *tch*, and *sh* for *ch*, as in *Kua-cheu* for *Koua-tcheou*, and *Sha-cheu* for *Cha-tcheou*, and some others of obvious necessity, with reference to French and English pronunciation.

by M. Julien, in 1853, under the title of "Histoire de la Vie de Hiouen-Thsang, et de ses Voyages dans l'Inde depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645." The second, which is the work just finished, is entitled the "Si-yu-ki; or, Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," which is described by the translator as "the compilation by an eminent writer of the name of Pien-ki, with the assistance of numerous documents translated from the Sanskrit by the illustrious traveller, and derived for the most part from statistical and historical works composed in those days in India, and no longer extant." So that, in the catalogue of the library of the Emperor Khien-long, it is said to be a translation from the Sanskrit—a designation not altogether correct, although it may convey the notion entertained by Chinese scholars of the sources whence the materials of the Si-yu-ki were drawn: at any rate, the work abounds with Sanskrit terms, the names of places and persons, and the expression of Buddhist doctrines sometimes disguised in Chinese characters, sometimes translated. The deciphering and interpretation of these words has added, in no slight degree, to the difficulty of the translator, and has imposed upon M. Julien the necessity of making himself sufficiently acquainted with Sanskrit to be able to verify the original terms. This he has accomplished with singular success, and has furnished, as a supplement to his translation, three several indices—one of Sanskrit and Chinese words, one of Chinese and Sanskrit words, and one of Sanskrit words expressed phonetically in Chinese—all of which, besides affording a proof of his conscientious industry, cannot fail to be of most essential service to any scholars who may hereafter investigate the past history and faith of India from Chinese sources.

The account given of the Si-yu-ki in the catalogue of Khien-long is far from affording a precise notion of the work; but this is of no great importance, as we have itself to refer to. It is evidently made up of two parts: first, a description of the countries visited, or respecting which information was gathered by the traveller; secondly, a *résumé* of his itinerary: the first is probably in his own words; the second must be taken from his journals; but it is in the language of the editor, of Pien-ki, it is to be supposed, by whom the compilation was effected. Thus we find the work begins with an account of a country named O-ki-ni, the Chinese representative of the Sanskrit Agni. Thus: "The kingdom of O-ki-ni has about 600 *li* from east to west, and 400 from north to south. On all four sides it is enclosed by mountains; the roads are dangerous, and easy of defence; a multitude of streams, which unite, surround it like a girdle; their water is employed in irrigation; the soil is favourable to red millet, late

wheat, fragrant jujubes, grapes, pears, and plums," and so on to the end of the description; when the itinerary begins in these terms:—

"Departing from this country, he made about 200 li to the south-west, cleared a small mountain, and crossed two large rivers; to the west he found a narrow valley. After having made (*après avoir fait*) about 700 li, he arrived at the kingdom of Kiu-chi." After which the language of description is resumed; then we again have the itinerary in the same style. "After quitting this country he made about 600 li west, crossed a small sandy desert, and arrived at the kingdom of Pa-lu-kia." Then again follows description; the description, mixed up with legends and anecdotes, is no doubt the writing of Hiouen Thsang; but the itinerary in which he is spoken of only as "*He*," is of course the work of the redacteur Pien-ki, and is possibly less detailed, and so far less serviceable than the original. Whatever may be its defects, however, they are remedied by a very carefully elaborated analysis of Hiouen Thsang's travels, by M. Vivien de St. Martin, according to both the biographical memoir and the Si-yu-ki, in which he has followed the route of the traveller, and traced his course with all the precision that was practicable; collecting, in illustration, a variety of interesting notices from Chinese and Arabian geographers.[1] According to these authorities, then, Hiouen Thsang commenced his travels A.D. 629 from Liang-cheu, a commercial city in the north-west of China, from which he proceeded to Kua-chen, beyond the western extremity of the Great Wall; both this place and Liang-cheu are still extant, and bear the same appellations. After crossing the river Hu-lu (the Bulunghir of the Mongols), he came to the desert known to the Chinese as Sha-ho (the Mongol Gobi), or the "River of Sand." Hiouen Thsang calls it Mo-kia-yeu, which is evidently the Chinese representation of the name it still bears among some of the Mongols—Ma-kha-i. Along the route were Chinese watch-towers at the distance of 100 li from each other, the last placed on the Chinese frontier, at 500 li from the river. M. de St. Martin has prefaced his

[1] Something of this had been effected by the translators of the Foe-Kue-Ki, and by M. Reinaud, with the assistance, as he acknowledges, of M. Julien, in his Mémoire Géographique Historique et Scientifique de l'Inde; but the former verifications are not always correct, and the latter are of limited extent. A more copious verification of Hiouen Thsang's route, as laid down in the appendix to Fa-hian's, was published by Captain Cunningham in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xvii., containing much accurate and valuable illustration, to which M. St. Martin makes frequent reference. M. St. Martin has, of course, for the basis of his identifications, the results of M. Julien's scholarship in both Chinese and Sanskrit, and the complete and systematic concurrence he has been able to establish between the nomenclature of both languages.

analysis by a determination of the value of the li in the days of the traveller, and fixes it at 329 metres, which are equal to 3,281 feet. An English mile, therefore, contains 4 li and 8-10ths; or we may say roughly, that 5 li make a mile. The distances specified by Hiouen Thsang could not have been the result of actual measurement, and must be taken at best as approximations from his own estimates and collateral information.

On leaving China the route enters the kingdom of I-gu, with a capital of the same name, now known as Hami, the capital of the Eigur Turks, who, under the Chinese designation of Hoei-hu, occupied those countries from the second century before our era, according to the Chinese annals.

The next country is that of the king of the Kao-chang, another Eigur tribe, who, a few years subsequently, conquered the I-gu country, and gave their name to the whole of the Eigur tribes. The capital was Pe-li at the time of the journey (or the Chinese Pi-jan), about 75 leagues from Hami. Thence Hiouen Thsang goes west to Vu-pu-an, and thence to To-tsin, which M. de St. Martin considers to be the same as the still existing city Toksún, about 190 li south, or 38 miles, south-west from Turfan.

From this place Hiouen Thsang comes to the kingdom of Akini or Okini, which M. de St. Martin says is indisputably, from the bearing and distance, the modern Kara-shahr. Akini, M. Julien considers, may be identical with Agni. M. de St. Martin suggests its being possibly a modification of the ancient Chinese name Yenki. We should scarcely expect to meet with Agni so far to the north-east unless the term were used by Hiouen Thsang with some little inaccuracy, to denote the bearing of his route; Agni designating the south-east, his course lying to the south-west. It is rather remarkable, however, that the traveller states that the written characters are borrowed from India with very slight modifications; but this may be accounted for by the presence of some ten Buddhist convents, the members of which, 2000 in number, learn their doctrines and institutions from books brought from India. The country is of no great extent, or about 600 li (120 miles) from east to west, and 400 li (80 miles) from north to south. It is a table land shut in by mountains.

Two hundred li from hence Hiouen Thsang passed two great rivers; and at 700 li further—altogether 180 miles,—he came to the kingdom of Ki-u-chi or Ku-ché. The country on the west of Kara Shahar is still called Ku-che. According to the traveller's account of it, it is rich in mines of gold, copper, iron, and lead: we have here

about 100 convents, with 5000 members, whose writings, doctrines, and books are all from India. Statues of Buddha, some of them of colossal size, and impressions of his feet on blocks of jade are also met with.

From hence 600 li (120 miles) bring him to Po-lu-kia. The kingdom, according to M. de St. Martin, is represented by the present province of Ak-su; but he thinks the name of Po-lu-kia may be referred to a tribe of Turks who, before the Thang dynasty, ruled in the north-western extremity of China, named Pu-lo-ki. North from hence about twenty leagues occurred lofty mountains covered with snow—the Musur-aola of the Mongols, and Ling-shan of the Chinese—both meaning "Mountains of Ice:" a difficult journey of about eighty miles lay across these mountains, on which, it is stated, that no traveller should wear red garments, nor carry gourds—probably as water-bottles,—nor talk loud, under the penalty of bringing on a violent hurricane, by which he will probably be overwhelmed. At the end of this distance a large lake 1000 li (200 miles) in circuit presents itself. The description of this, which Hiouen Thsang calls Thsing-chi, leaves no doubt of its identity with the Lake Temurtu or Issikul.

The journey westward from the lake of Issikul presents, as noticed by M. de St. Martin, some important variations from the account given of it in the "Mémoires de la Vie," which he ascribes to the employment of additional materials from Hiouen Thsang's notes by his biographer. Both descriptions, however, are unsatisfactory as to the intermediate stages between the lake and the city of Ta-lu-se, and the total distance of about 1000 li, which, according to M. de St. Martin, leaves *une lacune considerable*. The two extreme points are, however, unquestionable; and the city of Ta-lu-se is recognisable in the important and ancient city of Talas or Taras, in the middle of the valley of the Jaxartes. Some of the difficulty of a more exact adjustment of the stages may arise from the repetition and confounding of names which are given to different places upon the authority of Chinese geographers. From Taras forwards, valuable elucidation is derivable from Arabic and Persian sources.

Taras, which Rashid-ud-din mentions is called Talas by the Turks, is the modern city of Turkestan. From thence Hiouen Thsang turned from west to south, following the valley of the Sir-darya, or Jaxartes. The stages given are Peshui, 200 li (40 miles), Kong-yu, the same, Nuchi-kien, 50 li (10), Che-chi, 40 miles towards the west, Fei-han, 1000 li or 200 miles: all these are identifiable. Pe-shui means "White Water,"—the translation of Safid-ab—a city named by Ibn

Hakal and Shahab-ud-din; it is placed at two or three day's journey from Taras, either of which will agree well enough with the 40 miles of the Chinese pilgrim.

Kong-yu does not find a representative, unless it be one of the cities termed Yenghi, "New Town," of which there is one much in the position required.

Nu-chi-kien corresponds with a Nuj-keth or Nuj-kand, of Turkish geography, but its exact position is not determined. This is not the case with Che-chi, the Turk and Bukharian Shash, Chach, or Châj—the Tashkand of modern maps. The identity of Fei-han with Farghana, has been some time recognised, being intimated by Klaproth and Remusat, and the name also occurring as Pha-han-na, Pholena, Pho-han. The name, as given by Hiouen Thsang, designates the country; he does not notice the capital, and in fact he intimates that there was none, as for many years past every petty chief in the country had made himself independent. In the 10th century, Aksikhet, on the right bank of the Si-hun, was the capital, about seventy-two leagues south-east from Tashkand. The 1000 li of the itinerary are equal to seventy-four leagues,—a sufficiently near approximation.

Hiouen Thsang's next country is called by him Su-tu-li se-na, the direction and proximate distance of which apply to a tract known to the early Mohammedans as Osrushna and Satrushna, but now designated Uratipa, or Uratupa, Uratepe, or Urtappa. Baber, in his memoirs, expressly states that the former name of the country was Usrushna, or, in the translation, Usrushta. From hence, at 500 li south, the pilgrim comes to Sa-mo-kien, the identity of which with Samarkand does not admit of question, the bearing and distance agreeing sufficiently well with its position. Hiouen Thsang describes the city as a place of valuable trade, and the country as rich and productive, abounding in magnificent trees, fruits, and flowers, and producing an excellent breed of horses.

Without pretending to have visited the countries themselves, Hiouen Thsang makes mention of various places in the neighbourhood of Samarkand; some of these are not easily identifiable, but in Pu-ho or Pu-kho, M. de St. Martin recognises Bokhara, in Ho-li-si-me-kia Khwarizm, and in the river Po-tsu the Vankshu of Badakhshan, or the Oxus.

Setting out from Samarkand, the traveller proceeds to the south-west, above 300 li or 60 miles to Kié-shang-na or Kesa, the birth-place of Timur. From hence the route lay through difficult mountain passes to a gorge called "the Iron Gates," the Darband of the Mohammedans; passing which the traveller reached the kingdom of Tu-ho-lo,

Tokharistan, occupied at this period, by the Ye-tha or Yue-chi, a tribe of Tibetan origin that invaded Transoxiana, and overturned the Græco-Bactrian kingdom about B.C. 126., and, under their celebrated sovereign Kanishka, had spread into the Punjab shortly before our era. When visited by Hiouen Thsang, they had been driven southwards by the Turks, and had become tributaries of the Grand Khan divided into twenty-seven petty and feeble principalities.

After crossing the Oxus to Tami or Termez, the traveller came to the territory of Hu-o, which M. de St. Martin considers identical with Ghaur; but from hence he was called back to Po-ho-lo or Balkh. Between these two points he enumerates several states, some of which are easily verifiable, as Po-kia-lang, or Baghelan, He-lu-si-mur-kien, Semenghan, and Ho-lin or Khulm. Of Balkh, he says that "it is strongly fortified, but of limited extent and scanty population." In all these he reports the existence of Buddhist monasteries. Balkh contains 100, and 3000 occupants. At one of them, south-east of the town, were sundry precious relics—as the wash-hand basin of Buddha, one of his teeth, and his broom, the latter set with precious stones. North of the monastery was a sthúpa 200 feet high. There were others in that part of the country.

During his residence at Balkh, Hiouen Thsang received invitations from several of the neighbouring princes, and visited them in consequence, giving short descriptions of their principalities. The most remote was Ta-la-kien, or Talekan, on the confines of Po-la-se or Persia. The particulars of these journeys are apparently undetailed, as the itinerary is resumed from Balkh; from whence, at a distance of 900 li (180 miles) to the south, he comes to Fan-yen-na, an extensive city in a valley surrounded by mountains, and remarkable for colossal statues of Buddha cut in the rock, and still extant in fact at Bamian. In the neighbourhood of the city were various religious establishments, with relics and marvels which it is not material to particularise. We may notice one—the garment of a saint named Sanaka Vasa, or the "Hemp-clad," from the *san*, of which his garment was manufactured. The saint wore it through 500 successive existences; and, on the occasion of his last birth, he was born with it. It grew as he grew; and, when he obtained Nirvána, he expressed a pious wish that it might endure as long as the law of Buddha. Hiouen Thsang remarks it was somewhat the worse for wear.

Going eastwards, through passes in the snowy mountains, the route comes to the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi, or Kapisa,—a name with which Pliny and Ptolemy have made us familiar as "Kapissam urbem quam Kapisene habuit," or, as sometimes read, Caphusa or Caphisa.

It is somewhat singular that with this positive indication of a city and state among the Paropamisadan mountains in the beginning of the Christian era, and its actual recognition by the Chinese traveller in the 7th century, the name should not occur in any Hindu authority. The word Kapisa is Sanskrit, meaning "brown," or "tawny," but we do not find it applied to any known locality. The position of Kia-pi-shi, although not determinable with precision, is evidently to the north-east of Kabul, and M. de St. Martin has good reason for placing it west of Lanighan, and, consequently, as corresponding with the districts of Nijrao and Panjshir,—a tract which, as he observes, although close to Kabul, is yet very imperfectly known. If Hiouen Thsang at all approaches to accuracy in giving a circuit of 4000 li (800 miles) to the kingdom of Kia-pi-shi, the localities indicated could scarcely include such an extent of territory.

The Prince of Kapisa is described as a patron of Buddhism, and the principal city contained 100 monasteries, with numerous sthúpas. The heretics—that is to say, the Hindus—are also numerous; and there are different orders of mendicants—some who go naked, some who smear themselves with ashes, and some who wear chaplets of skulls. Their appellations—Nirgranthas, the "Free from bonds," Pánsupatas or Khákis (perhaps it should be Paśupatas), and Kapíladháris) are all genuine Sanskrit appellations, and show that these ascetics were all followers of Siva. At the time of Kanishka, Kia-ni-se-kia, who was raja of Kien-tho-lo, Gandhára, Kapisa was subject to him. A variety of marvels are narrated by the credulous traveller of the convents and sthúpas in the neighbourhood, to which no interest attaches, except that it may be worth while to notice that he speaks of chambers excavated in the mountains, and often quotes his narrations from ancient descriptions of the country.

Six hundred li (120 miles) to the east, Hiouen Thsang came to the principality of Lan-po, the Lampaka or Lampaga of Sanskrit, the country of the Lampagæ of Ptolemy, corrupted by the Mohammadans into Laghman; the distance, however, implies that the traveller must have made a circuitous detour.

The itinerary is here interrupted by a general description of Tien-chu, or India, which comprises some interesting notices. It will, however, be more conveniently adverted to when we have finished the journey, and are enabled to add such further historical particulars as the travels may offer.

Lan-po is bounded on the north by the snowy mountains, and on the other three sides by the black mountains, the Siah-koh. The climate is mild, and, although hoar frost occurs, it never snows, parti-

culars that can scarcely be quite true of Laghman. Rice and sugar-cane are cultivated. The country was in a state of anarchy, but was beginning to acknowledge subjection to Ka-pi-sa. The route then proceeds south-east, through a pass in the mountains and across a river, identified by M. de St. Martin with the Kabul river, the Kophes or Kophene of classical writers, the Kubhá of the Vedas, where a remarkable bend of the mountains allows it to pass from the valley of Laghman to the plain of Jelalabad. The first stage is Nakie-lo-ho, the Nangen-har of Baber, or Nagara hárda of the Hindus; the Nagara also of Ptolemy, which he also calls Dionysopolis. Properly speaking Nagara, according to Hiouen Thsang, is the name of the province, that of the capital being Udyán-pura, which M. de St. Martin supposes the Greeks, with their usual national bias, transformed to Dionysopolis, or city of Dionysus or Bacchus. Professor Lassen thinks that there was such a city indicated by the monogram on the coins of Dionysius, one of the Græco-Bactrian kings, subsequent to Apollodotus, and consequently much later than the invasion of Alexander, though not later than Ptolemy. Captain Cunningham (Journal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 17, 482) quotes Abu Rihan for a city named Dinus, halfway between Kabul and Peshawar, which bears the abbreviated name of the city. There are some difficulties in the way of this identification, however, and more positive indications fix it at Begram, or about two miles west of Jelalabad, where, according to Masson, tradition records that there was a city named Adjuna, a possible corruption of Udyana, or Ujana. There is also a village named Nagarak, and the Udyána-pura, the city of gardens, has been possibly perpetuated in the neighbourhood under the designations of Bálabágh and Chahárbágh. Again at thirty li south-east from Nakie ho-lo was a place of great sanctity, named Hi-lo, where were several sthúpas. The tope of Hidda well known to us by Masson's explorations, is no doubt one of the ancient groupes. From Begram, representing Nakie-ho-lo, to Hidda is exactly thirty li, or six miles.

From Nakie-ho-lo Hiouen Thsang proceeds 500 li (100 miles) south-east, to Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo, the Sanskrit Purusha-pura, the modern Peshawar, the capital of Kieu-tho-lo, or Gandhára. The distance from Begram, on our maps, is 103 miles, which is a curiously close approximation. Gandhára extended, according to the traveller, to the Indus. Purushapura had been the capital of Kanishka, but the country was now subject to Kapisa. Notwithstanding the number of convents and sthúpas, to which there was great resort, at so short a distance as Hi-lo the people were mostly of the Brahmanical belief, and there were but few who had faith in the true Law, "il y en a peu qui avaient foi

dans la droite loi." There were about a thousand monasteries, but deserted and in ruins, overrun with wild plants, and offering only a melancholy solitude: the greater number of the sthúpas were also in ruins.

From hence the traveller proceeded north-east, about sixty li (twelve miles) to the city of Pu-se-kia-lo-fa-ti, the Hindu Pushkalavati, the Peukelaotis of Alexander's historians, a city of which no trace remains, but which was possibly situated, in M. de St. Martin's opinion, where a town called in the maps Nicetta, or Nisatha exists, on the north bank of the Kabul river, a little below the confluence of the river Lundi, or of Swát. It has been identified with Hashtnagar, but there is perhaps little or no difference. Hashtnagar is properly the name of the district, that of the eight cities; correctly speaking there is no such town, but, according to Captain Raverty (Transactions Bombay Geographical Society, Vol. X) it is made up of three small adjacent towns, Char, Luddha, and Pranj, close together, and not more than five miles from Nisatha, or fifteen from Peshawar, so that the locality is much the same, and Peukelaotis probably comprised the whole of the vicinity. Extensive ruins are found throughout the neighbourhood. The territory of Gandhára abounding in objects of interest to the Buddhist ascetic, it is not wonderful that Hiouen Thsang spent some time in visiting different places, some of which he names, as Pu-lu-sha, U-tu-kia-han-cha, and Po-lo-tu-lo. The first of these is identifiable with a place called Baroch, the second with Uttakhanda, or the Uay-hind of Albiruni, the Ohind of the maps, a village on the right bank of the Indus, about twelve miles above Attok, one of the most ancient places in the country, according to Major Cunningham. Mr. Court speaks of it as Hund, and observes that the ruins are very remarkable, and mentions inscriptions in characters unknown to the people. Transcripts of two of these were procured by Captain Burnes; they are referred, by J. Prinsep, to the seventh or eighth century, but they are defective and apparently ill copied, so that no satisfactory interpretation can be attempted; but, as the marbles were sent to the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, a further examination might be more successful. It may be admitted, however, that Prinsep's estimate of their date is correct. Po-lo-tu-lo is signalised by Hiouen Thsang as the birth place of the grammarian Po-ni-ni, or Pánini: the place of his nativity is usually called, by native authorities, Salátura, but one or other of the names may be wrongly read, in the first syllable; the identity of the individual is indisputable, by the especial notice of his grammar and its currency. It is observable, also, that Hiouen Thsang repeats the legend of Pánini's being indebted for assistance to Siva or Maheswara,

whence his first rules, those of the alphabet, are called the *Máheswara Sutráni*, the Sutras or precepts of Maheswara.

Before crossing the Indus the traveller visits the countries lying more northerly on its western bank, that of U-chang-na, or Udyána, the garden, the country at present occupied by the Yusef-zís, and watered by the Swat river, the Suastos of Arrian, the Subhavastu of Sanskrit, abbreviated to Suvastu, but literally rendered by the Chinese Su-pa-fa-so-tu. Hiouen Thsang here devoted some time to various peregrinations to monasteries and sthúpas, the site of many miraculous appearances of the Tathágata himself, according to the pilgrim: whether remains of these monuments still exist has yet to be ascertained, as the habits and temper of the people are little favourable to intimate intercourse. They must have been of a very different race in the seventh century from what they are now, for Hiouen Thsang describes them as gentle and pusillanimous, inclined to cunning and dishonesty, fond of study but not pursuing it with energy: he also states that the population was very numerous, which is not the case at present: the capital city he calls Mong-kie-li, Manglavor, or Mangalapur, a town on the left bank of the Swat, and which the natives affirmed had been for a long time the capital; the people must have been of Indian origin, if the traveller's statement be credited that their language differed but little from that spoken in India.

The course next followed led the traveller more to the north, along the upper course of the Indus, over difficult mountain passes and across rivers, over which rude suspension bridges were thrown. It is not easy to attempt to trace his route here, not only because the country is yet unvisited by Europeans, but because it is not always clear that Hiouen Thsang himself travelled over the ground. As far as it is safe to come to any conclusion, it appears that he crossed the tracts occupied by the Daradas or Dards to Po-lu-lo, Bolor or Balti; he then returned southwards to Uta-khanda, and there crossed the Indus to Ta-cha-shi-lo, the Indian Takshasila, the Taxiles of the Greeks.

Notwithstanding the celebrity of the name, the site of Takshasila is matter of dispute. M. de St. Martin, trusting to the mensuration of Alexander's surveyors, in this place preserved by Pliny, places it at Hásan Abdal, or at least at a spot about six or seven miles east or south-east of it, where extensive ruins still exist, and numerous coins have been found. Hiouen Thsang notices several sthúpas or topes in the vicinity of the city, of which more than one is said to have been erected by Wai-yeu, the Chinese translation of Asoka. One of them marked the site where Kunala, or Keo-lang-na, the

son of that prince, unjustly accused by his stepmother, was blinded. The story which Hiouen Thsang relates of the cause of his having his eyes put out, and of the restoration of his sight, is essentially the same as that found in the Life of Buddha, which has been in part translated from the Sanskrit by the late M. Burnouf.

Seven hundred li (140 miles) to the south-east brings the traveller to the capital of the kingdom of Seng-ho-pu-lo, evidently the Sanskrit Sinhapura, although no city of that name makes any figure among the principalities noticed in original authorities. The name occurs in the Dig-vijaya of Arjuna, in the Sabhá Parva of the Mahábhárat, as lying near to Abhisára and Uragá. The first of these is well known as contiguous to Kashmir, and, in fact, a part of it, politically, if not geographically, and we have, therefore, original authority for placing Sinhapura high up in the north-west portion of the Punjab. According to Hiouen Thsang it was near the Indus, on the west, and M. St. Martin thinks it probable that traces of Sinhapura are to be found in a place called Sangohi, in the map given by Captain Cunningham, in his Ladakh, about 130 miles from the Indus, and a short distance from the Jhelum. Many sthúpas are mentioned, the remains of which may perhaps still be recognised. At any rate Sinhapura may be placed between the Indus and the Jhelum, although Sangohi seems to lie rather too much to the south. It is worthy of remark that the country, as well as Takshila, was subject to Kashmir; and although there are some chronological difficulties in the way, yet there seems good reason to infer, from the statements of the Raja Tarangini, that, at the beginning of the seventh century, Kashmir had established a predominant authority of considerable extent over the adjacent countries.

Some curious particulars are here mentioned of a heretical sect, which have very much the appearance of applying to the Jains. The figure they worship is said to resemble that of Buddha, and their doctrines are asserted to be borrowed from the Buddhist scriptures. Their religious teachers are divided, also, into two parties, one going naked, the other wearing white vestments, in whom, therefore, we have the Digambaras and Swetámbaras of the Jains.

From Sinhapura Hiouen Thsang returned to Takshila, and then spent some time in visiting the neighbouring countries to the north and east. One of these, U-la-shi, is the Urasa of the Raja Tarangini, and may be the Uraga of the Mahábhárata; the bearing given by the traveller always to the south-east seems at variance with its position in any part of the Punjab, and we should rather look for it more to the north or in the district of Gilgit, especially as still in the direction south-east, about 1000 li, or 200 miles across mountains, he comes

to Kia-shi-mi-lo, which is undoubtedly Kashmir. Hiouen Thsang remained here two years. Besides the description of the country, sufficiently correct, Hiouen Thsang repeats the local legend of the valley having been a lake, only he ascribes its desiccation to an Arhat of marvellous sanctity. He also speaks of the capital as the new city, and notices the existence of the old in a position the correctness of which Captain Cunningham confirms, finding the remains at Pandrathan, or Purana-sthana, the old place, a mile and a half south of the Takht-i-Sulíman, which is in Srinagar. The new city, as mentioned in the Raja Tarangini, was built by Pravarasena, whom I have placed conjecturally towards the end of the fifth century, Professor Lassen about the middle of the third century. According to our authority, Asoka reigned in Kashmir, 100 years after the Nirvána of Sákya, and Kanishka four centuries after the same event. For two centuries the country was governed by a king of the Kilito (Kiriya) race, who abolished the religion of Buddha, but it was restored by the Raja of the Himalaya, a Tushkara, or Turk, who defeated and put to death the Kilito Prince. The latter race, however, recovered the supremacy, and, at the time of Hiouen Thsang's travels, he observes that the king has no great faith in Buddhism, and is only interested in the heretics and the temples of the gods.

From Kashmir the route first bends north-west, on which, at 145 li (29 miles) from the capital, it crosses a large river, the Vitastha or Jhelum; it then turns south-west to Pu-an-nu-tso, the modern Punch or Punach, and thence to Ho-lo-she-pu-lo, Rajapura, Rajawar, or Rajore. The distances specified are somewhat in excess, but that may be in part accounted for by the greater length of the route over a mountainous than along a level country. According to Major Cunningham, the actual distance in miles in such countries is about a third more than that measured on the map.

There is some indistinctness and confusion in the account of the next movement. In the biography it is said the traveller came, after two days, to Chen-ta-lo-po-kia, the Chandrabhága, or Chinab, and thence to the town of She-ye-pu-lo, or Jaypur, and on the next day he arrived at She-kie-lo, the Sanskrit Sákala, the Sangala of Arrian, situated between the Irávati or Ravi and the Beyah or Vipásá, the Pi-po sho of the Chinese. The distances specified are, however, wholly incompatible with the actual distances, and there are obvious errors in this respect. To the kingdom and its capital the name of Chekia is given, and the boundaries of the whole are said to be the Beyah to the east, and the Indus on the west, so that it would include Multan. Sákala was the ancient capital; it was mostly in ruins, but

the foundations of the walls were still to be seen, and a small town had grown up in the centre. The actual capital appears to be that of the king Chekia, and, according to tradition, the old name of the Sikh capital was Chek before the tank was dug, which gives it the appellation of Amrit-sar.

The next stage in the Si-yu-ki is the country called Chinapati, about 100 miles east from the frontiers of Chekia. The biographical memoir interposes a city named Na-lo-seng-ho, Narasinha; its position is not identified. The distance and direction render it possible that Chinapati is to be found in some one of the nearest hill-states, as that of Katoch, or its capital Kangra, according to the conjectures of Captain Cunningham (J.A.S.B., vol. xvii, part 2, page 23.), who states that an inscription found there calls the kingdom Gachché Raj, in which he thinks he can trace the name Gachu, known in Mongol literature as that of a country in which Jalandhara was comprehended.

About 150 li south-east of this is the kingdom of She-lan-to-lo, in which we have no difficulty to recognise Jalandhara; the bearing, however, should be south-west not south-east, if the point of departure be rightly indicated. Thence to the north-east we come to the kingdoms of Ku-lu-tu, Lo-ho-lo, San-po-ho,—names that may be readily recognised in the hill-districts of Kulu, Lahaul, and Chamba. The first is named by Varâhamihira as Kulata. San-po-ho is also called, it is said, Mo-lo-so or Mo-lo-po, in which M. de St. Martin recognizes the Malavas of the Punjab mentioned in the Mahábhárata, by Pánini, and in the Allahabad inscription. He considers them also the same people as the Malli of the western portion of the Punjab or Multan, mentioned by Alexander's historians. But this seems to be without sufficient foundation, and the positions are too far apart to be identical.

Turning hence to the south, Hiouen Thsang crosses a large river and enters the principality of She-tu-tu-lo, in which we have clearly the name of the river the Satudru or Satudra,—the Sutlej. The distances and bearings, however, are not capable of precise adjustment with those of the maps; and the route followed by the traveller indicates a direction more to the west than would have been looked for, by which he avoids Thaneswar and ancient Delhi, and comes, at a distance of 800 li (160 miles) to Po-li-ye-to-lo, the Chinese representative of Páriyátra,—a place of which we have no other notice. M. de St. Martin would identify it with the Byrat of the maps, a town in the principality of Jaypur, about 100 miles west of Mathura—a possible relic of the ancient Sanskrit name of this part of India or Viráta, which figures in the Mahábhárata. The distance corresponds

well enough, as from Po-li-ye-to-lo, Hiouen Thsang comes, at a distance of 500 li (100 miles) east to Mo-tu-lo or Mathurá. The principality contains about twenty convents and a number of sthúpas, seven of which enshrine the remains of as many of the most celebrated disciples of Sákya, or Sáriputra, Mudgalaputra, Púrna Maitráyaniputra, Upali, Ananta, Ráhula, and Manjusrí. These were the objects of an annual pilgrimage.

The route of Hiouen Thsang then again assumes a northern direction, and in various respects of detail is more than usually difficult to follow. From Mathura he goes to Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo, Sthaneswara, or Tháneswara, 500 li north-east, when it should be at least double that distance, and is rather to the north-west than north-east. It is somewhat singular, too, that he takes no notice of ancient Dehli on his way; it must have been in existence, and his passing it by in silence can only be accounted for by supposing, either that there is a hiatus in his journal, or that there was nothing in the city of Buddhist interest; yet this were scarcely possible, as the Lát was there, and the edicts of Piyadasi; or it might have been that the ruling authorities were actively hostile towards Buddhism, for the Rajas of Delhi were at this date Rajputs, and the Rajputs of Central India at least seem to have always been supporters of Brahmanism. That by Stháneswara we are to understand Thanesar, or Kurukshetra, there is not only the evidence of the name and bearing, but Hiouen Thsang describes it as the scene of a fierce battle between two kings disputing the supreme authority, which had taken place in very remote ages, as was evident from the size of the human bones which were found in the soil, alluding obviously, though in a most meagre manner, to the war of the Mahábhárata.

The movements of Hiouen Thsang are here again erratic, but it is to be recollected that we are not to look upon his journey as one and continuous; it is a series of excursions in various directions, interrupted by temporary halts of shorter or longer duration, from whence he starts upon a different and occasionally reversed route; thus he now proceeds north-east about eighty miles to the principality of Sa-lo-kin-na, bounded by the Ganges on the east, the mountains on the north, the Yamuna flowed through the centre; the capital is said to be mostly in ruins, but the remains are substantial; the name represents Sraghna or Sughna, which is enumerated in original Sanskrit lists amongst the countries of the north; the locality is not improbably that of Saharanpur. East of the Yamuna 800 li (160 miles) Hiouen Thsang comes to the banks of the Ganges, the biography says to the sources, which is not very likely. The circumstances he relates of

the sanctity of the river are quite in harmony with native superstitions —bathing in the river effaces all sin; drowning in it secures heaven; and the defunct whose bones are cast into it, revive to worldly enjoyment. After crossing the river, the traveller comes to Mo-ti-pu-lo, Matipura, the situation of which is questionable. M. de St. Martin endeavours to determine it by reckoning backwards from the places to which Hiouen Thsang subsequently proceeds, until he reaches a definite point. Thus, from Mo-ti-pu-lo to Kia-pi-shoang-na, 400 li south-east; O-hi-chi-to-lo, 41 li south-east; Pi-lo-shan-na, 265 li south-west; Kie-pi-tha, or Seng-kia-she, 200 li south-east; and Kie-jo-kio-she, 200 li also to the south-east, or altogether 1100 li (220 miles) in a generally south-east bearing, the last name readily resolving itself into Kanyakubja, or Kanoj, which gives the point desired. Seng-kia-she is also obviously Sankásya, a city named in the Rámáyana, the existence of the ruins of which to the present day we learn from Major Cunningham, who has described it in the Society's Journal; it is 54 leagues north-west of Kanoj on the left bank of the Kalinadi, which agrees well enough with the distance of the Chinese traveller. It is mentioned also by the elder traveller, Fa Hian, as noticed in my summary of his travels (J.R.A.S., vol. v. p. 121). Pi-lo-shan-na, M. de St. Martin thinks, may be the Karsana of the maps, judging from distance and direction; and O-hi-chi-to-lo, no doubt, represents Ahichchatra; and north-west from this is Matipura. M. de St. Martin thinks it possible that some indication of it may be afforded by the ruins of a place called by Tieffenthaler Madáwar, three leagues from Sahanpur, and an hour's journey from the east bank of the Ganges; the whole distance, 1100 li, or 220 miles, would bring us to the northern portion of Rohikhand. Again, from Matipur, the traveller goes 300 li, sixty miles north, to Po-lo-hi-mo-pu-lo, or Brahmapur, which has been conjectured, by Major Cunningham, to apply Srinagar, a conjecture in which M. de St. Martin concurs. He would also identify the word Mati with Madhu, or Mathu, and the people called Madhavas, or Mathavas, who founded Mathura, and whose possessions extended east of the Gandaki, into Videha, termed after them Mithila. This locality, however, is very different from that of Srinagar, even if the reading of Mathava for Madhava be correct, which is questionable, depending upon a passage cited by Weber from the Yajush, which says, "the Sadanira is the boundary of Kosala and Videha, occupied by the descendants of Máthava." Megasthenes mentions a people called Mathæ, whose country is watered by the Erineses, which M. de St. Martin thinks may be the river of Benares, Varánasi. We can scarcely, however, elevate the conjoined rivulets,

the Barna and Asi, to the dignity of a feeder of the Ganges. A list of Buddhist patriarchs, published by M. Remusat, mentions, also, that one of them, on his decease, named, as his successor, Gayasata, in the country of Mati, he himself dying at Srávasti. This does not help us much to the position of Matipur, although it is considered as confirming, with the other circumstances, its identity with a part, at least, of the ancient principality of Kosala, or Oude. That it lay more to the north is, however, further proved by Hiouen Thsang's mention of the city Mo-yeu-lo, on the north-west of Mo-ti-pu-lo, near the east bank of the Ganges, not far from which is a temple of the gods, which is called the Gate of the Ganges, the Gangadwara, or, subsequently, Haridwáru, the Haridwár of the Hindus, to which they repair by hundreds and thousands to bathe. The city of Matipur has not left any traces. North of Brahmapur, amongst the mountains, was a principality named Su-fo-la-na-kiu-to-lo, Suvarnagotra, from its yielding gold, *suvarna*. It is also called the female kingdom, being ruled over by a woman. Hiouen Thsang does not visit it, and we have only the popular notion of a Stri-rájya in the mountains, spoken of in the Puranas, and originating, perhaps, in the Polyandrism of the Bhotiyas. It is bordered on the east by Tu-fan, Tibet; north by Yu-tien, Khoten, and west by Chamba. The first and last are not far from the truth. Khoten is inaccurately placed.

Of the places passed on his way, from Matipura to Kanoj, the only one of note is Sankásya, where are some remarkable and extensive Buddhist convents, although there are also a number of temples of Siva. One object worthy of notice was a pillar, seventy feet high, erected by Asoka: perhaps a search among the ruins of Sankásya might discover some vestiges of this column. The next stage, Kie-jo-kio-she is not only identified with Kanyakubja, by similarity of name, but Hiouen Thsang repeats, with very slight modification, the legendary origin of the appellation, as related in the Rámáyana, the crookedness (kubja) of the princesses (kanyá), in consequence of the imprecation of a Rishi, whom they had refused to marry. Hence the city was called Khiu-na-cheris, *c'est à dire la ville des filles bossues*. Some interesting circumstances, of a political character, are related of this city, in which Buddhism was flourishing, but we may reserve these for an examination of the historical portion of the Si-yu-ki.

Resuming his journey from Kanoj, Hiouen Thsang comes, at a distance of about 100 li (20 miles) south-west, to the town of Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo, which represents in Sanskrit Navadevakula, on the east bank of the Ganges. There is a town in such a position, but it now

bears the Mohammadan name of Nobut-ganj. Whether traces of any of the monasteries or topes, noticed by the traveller, are still to be found there remains to be determined. One of the sthúpas was said to enshrine the hair and nails of Buddha. Six hundred li (120 miles) from hence to the south, Hiouen Thsang enters the kingdom of Ayuto, Ayodhya, or Oudh; the actual distance is about 150 miles, which is a sufficiently close approximation. Thence he proceeds to O-ye-mukhie, a country on the north bank of the river, which he terms by the generic name King-kia, or Ganga, but which must here mean the Saryu. The name represents Haya-mukha, horse-faced, but there is no place so denominated in any Sanskrit list. The place he next comes to is of more ready identification: Po-lo-ke-ya, or Prayága, situated, as he accurately states, at the confluence of two rivers.

From hence he passes through an extensive forest, 100 miles south-west, when he comes to Kiau-shang-mi, in which we at once recognise Kausámbi, a well-known name in Hindu tradition and fable, but of which the exact site has not been determined. Lassen, following Cunningham, is disposed to place it at Kusia, near Kara, on the south bank of the Ganges. M. de St. Martin thinks that the bearing of the journal is wrong, and that it should be north-west, not south-west, but objects to the distance, as Kara is not above thirty miles from Allahabad. I long ago suggested the same locality, in the Oriental Quarterly for March 1824, in a note on Kausámbi, which is repeatedly mentioned in the Brihat Kathá, some of the early chapters of which I there translated. After a short time I had another occasion to consider its position, and then located it in the neighbourhood of Chunar, which would harmonise with the direction given it by Hiouen Thsang, and would not be very far out as to distance, Chunar being about eighty miles west by south from Allahabad. Whether any vestiges of Kausámbi are to be found in that neighbourhood is a subject for investigation: that the Kausámbi of the Chinese traveller and of the Brihat Kathá are the same is proved, by the former mentioning its prince, U-to-yen-na, the Sanskrit Udayana, whose adventures with the princess of Ujayin form a prominent part in the Brihat Kathá, and who was an ancient hero of fable, so as to be alluded to by Kálidása, in the Cloud Messenger:

"Prápyávantim, Udayánakathá kovida gráma vriddhám."

Hiouen Thsang, of course, makes him one of the faithful, and says that he set up a statue of Buddha, still to be seen, although the monasteries were in ruins and almost deserted.

From Kausámbi, Hiouen Thsang seems to have taken a somewhat

unintelligibly circuitous route: he returns to the north, passes 700 li (140) miles through a forest, crosses the Ganges, and comes to Kia-she-pu-lo, and thence, 180 li, to Pi-so-kia. The first, representing the name Káshapura, is not identifiable. M. de St. Martin thinks the second, expressing the Sanskrit Vaisákha, may be the Pali Bhesakala mentioned in the Mahavanso; but this is very doubtful.

From hence, at 500 li to the north, Hiouen Thsang comes to Shi-lo-fa-si-ti, the Sanskrit Srávasti. Fa Hian makes it about 300 li *south* of Káshapura. There is evidently something wrong in the itinerary, not so much of distances as of bearings, which is not very wonderful, especially as it is not the traveller himself who specifies them. Both travellers agree in placing Srávasti north-west of Kapila-vastu 500 li, which would bring it to the upper course of the Rapti close to the mountains. The late Sir H. Elliot found a village about eight miles west of Faizabad bearing almost the same name, but the position is scarcely reconcileable with either itinerary. The capital of Srávasti was in ruins even at this early date, and the neighbourhood abounded with sthúpas and monasteries now deserted.

From Srávastí the route proceeds to Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu, or Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Sákya-sinha, and which the best authorities are agreed to place north of Gorakhpur, near the foot of the mountains on the Rohiní river, which joins the Rapti river from Nepal. The objection that has been taken to this site is, that Dr. Buchanan, exploring the valley of the Rohini above Gorakhpur, came upon no traces of any ancient city. This objection is of no great weight, for the country was possibly not very carefully examined; and if it had been, as Kapilavastu was abandoned and in ruins even at the time of Fa-Hian's travels, or in the fourth century, climate, time, and the wilderness operating uncontrolled for perhaps 2,000 years, are not likely to have left any distinguishable remains. From the forest occupying the site of Kapilavastu, Hiouen Thsang followed the same route to Kusinagara, Kieu-shi-na-kie-lo, by way of Lan-mo or Rama Grama, which is said to have been the scene of Sákya's changing his garments after leaving his palace, and which must have been close to Kapilavastu. The site of Kusinagara I showed, in my memoir of Fa-Hian's journey, to be, in all probability, Kusia, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, where indications of an extensive Buddhist city had been discovered. They were described by Mr. Liston in the Bengal Journal, which agrees, according to M. de St. Martin, with the bearings and distances of Hiouen Thsang's route. It was near Kusinagara that the Tathágata entered into Nirván in the eighticth year of his age.

From Kusinagara Hiouen Thsang turned back, and, at the distance of 200 li, came to a large town, of which he does not give the name; and from thence, after passing through a thick forest for 500 li, or 100 miles, he came to Po-lo-ni-se or Benares, which is actually about 150 miles from the situation assigned to Kusinagara. The capital or the city of Benares, is rightly described as extending along the Ganges for about nineteen li or nearly four miles—about the actual extent at the present day. It is five or six li in breadth, which again is about its actual average. The population of the city and suburbs was numerous, amongst whom few followed the law of Buddha. There were, however, some thirty monasteries with above 3,000 ascetics. The predominant worship was that of Siva or Maheswara, who has always been the especial divinity of Benares. A great number of monuments, viháras, and sthúpas were visited in the neighbourhood of Benares by Hiouen Thsang, one of which is supposed to be identifiable with Sárnátha—rendered, by M. Julien, *Mriga-dava, le bois des cerfs*, or, more agreeably to the Chinese, *Lu-ye, le parc des cerfs*.

The next city is 300 li on the east of Benares, also on the Ganges. There is no attempt at representing phonetically its Sanskrit name. The Chinese, Chan-cheo-kue expresses "town of the lord of war," Yuddhapati pura, perhaps for Kártikeya-pur, although we have no such place in any ancient list or modern map: the distance, sixty miles, would bring us to Ghazi-pur; and it is curious, although it may be accidental, that this Mohammadan name, the city of the Gházi, warrior against infidels, bears some affinity to the Yuddhapati of the Hindus.

Crossing the Ganges, Hiouen Thsang arrived at a town called Mo-ho-so-lo, Mahasára, inhabited entirely by Brahmans, a place that may be identified with a village near Arrah named Masár, not only by its position and bearing, but by the extensive remains in its vicinity found there by Dr. Buchanan. From hence, again crossing the Ganges to the north-east, the traveller came to the city celebrated in both Brahmanical and Buddhist legend, Fei-she-li or Vaisáli. Hiouen Thsang makes it 130 li or about 26 miles from the Ganges, on the banks of the Gandak; and this brings us to a spot where extensive ruins attest the former existence of an ancient city, and where one of the Priyadarsi columns, with an inscription, was discovered, or Bakhra, near which a village still called Basar, may suggest some resemblance to the ancient appellation. Although there were numerous relics of Buddhism in the adjacent country, there were not above three or four monasteries in the capital, and those thinly occupied; the rest were all in ruins, whilst there were some dozens of Hindu

temples. Fa-Hian speaks of Vaisálí as being in a ruinous condition—*la capitale n'offre partout que des ruines.*

Before crossing the Ganges, Hiouen Thsang makes a diversion to the north, and visits the countries of the Fo-li-shi and of Ni-po-lo. The former represents the Sanskrit Vrijis, a name, however, unknown to Brahmanical literature, although it occurs as Vaddhis in that of the Buddhists, as is mentioned both by Turnour and Burnouf, a powerful tribe, situated between the Ganges and the mountains, on the east of the Gandak river. At this time they must have been compelled to fall back from the Ganges, and the bearing and distance would place them about Janakapur, in Chinese Che-shu-na-pu-lo, the ancient capital of Mithilá, under Janaka, the father of Sita. In Ni-po-lo we have obviously Nepal, and the identity is confirmed by the traveller's description of it, as situated among the snowy mountains.

Returning to Vaisáli, Hiouen Thsang there crossed the Ganges and proceeded to the kingdom of Mo-kie-to, Magadhá, or South Bahar, the scene of Buddha's first teaching. On the south bank of the river was an ancient city, which we are rather surprised to learn had long been deserted. This, it is said, was called, in very remote times, Keu-sumo-pu-lo, the Kusuma-pura of Sanskrit traditional history, and afterwards Po-to-li-tseu-ching, or Pátaliputra-pura. The story he tells, to account for the meaning of the name, the city of the son of the Pátali flower, bears some affinity to the legend narrated in the Brihat Kathá; and he also mentions that it was the capital of Asoka, who transferred to it his royal residence from Rajagriha. It is difficult to understand how Pataliputra should have fallen so soon into such decay as Hiouen Thsang ascribes to it, so shortly after Fa Hian's visit, or only 231 years before, as he describes it as flourishing, *en pleine prospérité.* At present, he says (the later pilgrim) there remain only the old foundations; the monasteries, temples of the gods, and sthúpas of which the ruins are visible may be counted by hundreds: there are not above two or three still standing, only on the north of the ancient palace and close to the Ganges, there is a small town, which contains about 1000 houses.

After visiting the remains of a number of Buddhist monuments in this part of the country Hiouen Thsang proceeded to Kia-ye, or Gaya, at a distance of 485 li, or 97 miles from the Ganges, the actual distance being between sixty and seventy, but Hiouen Thsang's route involves, apparently, sundry deviations from the direct road, which may account for the difference. The description given by both the Chinese pilgrims of the objects in the vicinity of the place, as well as

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the name, leave no doubt of the identity of their Kia-ye with the Buddha Gaya of the present day, although, at the time of Hiouen Thsang's visit, it was chiefly occupied by Brahman families, who were treated with great veneration by both prince and people.

During his stay at Gaya, Hiouen Thsang visited an infinite number of viháras and sthúpas, statues of Buddha, and the Bodhi-druma, the tree of intelligence, in an enclosure of four walls. After satisfying his devotions and relating a number of marvels he resumed his travels, passing through a forest, east of the Mo-ho or Mahi river, 100 li to the mountain Kiu-kiu-to-po-tho-shan, Kukkuta-páda, also called Keu-lau-po-to-shan, or Gurupáda. This is rather a mountain range, with lofty summits, and numerous valleys and grottoes. Another 100 li bring him to the mountain Fo-to-va-na, or Buddhavana, where were extensive excavations. Other mountains and caves are passed, until he arrives at the town Kuságára-pura, or Ku-she-ki-lo-pu-lo, or the city of the sacred grass, the Kusa, in the centre of the kingdom of Magadhá and the ancient capital, enclosed on the four cardinal points by lofty mountains. There is at present no indication of such a name as Kuságara, but it seems to have been the same as Rajagriha, the residence of the kings of Magadhá, at the time of Buddha's appearance; known in Sanskrit literature as Girivraja, meaning the assemblage of mountains, indicating the site of the city in the midst of mountains, five, according to the Mahábhárata, and to a more modern description, that of Père Tieffenthaler, in 1765. A Jain in the service of Colonel Mackenzie, who travelled through Behar, and whose journey I translated, and published in the Calcutta Annual Register of 1821, found the remains of Rájagriha spread over a space of four miles by two, having four hills at the cardinal points. Major Kittoe visited it still later, and published a plan of the topography in the 16th vol. of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part 2, p. 954. At about six or seven miles north of Rajagriha Hiouen Thsang came to the monastery of Nalanda, the Nalo of Fa-Hian, one of the most considerable in India, and resided there five years. Very extensive remains have been found in this situation, described by Dr. Buchanan and Major Kittoe, which are probably those of the monastery in question: they are situated in the neighbourhood of a village named Baragaon, the large village, possibly a corruption of Vihára-gráma, the village of the monastery.

Setting out again on his travels Hiouen Thsang comes, at about two miles, to a town called Kiu-li-kia, and thence, at four miles distance, west, to Kia-lo-pi-na-kia, severally, in Sanskrit, Kulika and Kalapinaka. He then retraces his steps towards the Ganges, generally

in a north-east direction, till he comes to a village called Lo-in-ni-lo, Rohinila, a place which may be identified with the Royanala of Rennell, at the eastern extremity of Bahar.

Following the course of the river to the east Hiouen Thsang comes to the capital of I-lau-na-shan, at a distance of forty miles on the Ganges. The Chinese appellation is equivalent in meaning to Hiranya-parvata, or the golden mountain, as in the neighbourhood of the city was a mountain emitting smoke; and although this is no longer the case, yet the presence of thermal springs, as at the Sita-kund, together with the agreement of bearing and distance, identify Hiranya-parvata with Monghir. From thence, following the southern bank of the Ganges, the route comes to Chen-po, the Sanskrit Champa, the ancient name of the capital of Anga, in the vicinity of the modern Bhagalpur. At 150 li from Champa was an insular rock, which is exaggerated into a mountain, but Hiouen Thsang derives his account from information, not having visited the spot, which is no doubt the rock of Kolgong.

The journey of Hiouen Thsang steadily pursues a southern direction; at 80 miles he comes to a kingdom written Kie-chu-u-ki-lo, or Kie-ching-kie-lo, equivalent to Kajingara, conjectured by M. de St. Martin to be identical with a place on the south bank of the Ganges called in Rennell's map Kajeri, about 85 or 90 miles from Champa. The next country he comes to is called Pun-na-fa-ta-ná, Pundravardhana. Pundra is the Sanskrit name of western Bengal, and in the latter member of the compound we may have Vardhamána, the classical designation of Burdwan. His next journeys are not easy to follow, and can only be understood by supposing that they are discursive, not continuous, carrying him to Kia-mo-leu-po, or Kamarúpa, which is well known as Western Asam. Hence he returns south 1300 li (260 miles) to San-mo-ta-cha, near the sea, and which must have been therefore near the delta of the Brahmaputra. Samata, or Samátata, is named in the Allahabad pillar, and in a list of countries in the Varáha Sanhitá; but nothing further is known of it, and it may or may not be identical with the Chinese name. Hence he goes to Ta-mo-li-ti, the Sanskrit Támralipta, well known both to Brahmanical and Buddhist geography, a seaport and commercial emporium as late as the thirteenth century, and still a station of some importance as Tamlúk.

Here again we have an interruption in the direct route, and Hiouen Thsang visits a country 700 li (140 miles) north-west from Támralipti, called Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-nu, equivalent to Karna-suvarna; the bearing and distance would bring us to the Suvarna-rekhá, the

Subanrika river of the maps, watering the country of Sinh-bhúm; he then comes back a little distance to the south-east, and is now in the kingdom of U-cha, Udra, Odra, or Orissa; he does not name the capital, but we know from Stirling's History of Orissa, that princes of the Kesari dynasty were ruling in the seventh century at Jajpur, which still exists.

Travelling 1200 li (240 miles) through thick forests, Hiouen Thsang arrives at a kingdom called Kong-yu-tho, the identification of which is not very obvious; 1400 or 1500 li (300 miles) further south we more readily recognise in Ki-ling-kia, Kalinga, the name given by Sanskrit and classical writers, and by the people of the Eastern Archipelago, to the upper part of the Coromandel coast, usually including Orissa; the whole distance would bring us near to the mouths of the Godavery.

Going now north-west 1900 li (nearly 400 miles), Hiouen Thsang comes to the kingdom of Kiao-sa-lo, Kosala, surrounded by mountains and forests. Kosala must here be applied to a part of Berar, and is known in Hindu geography as Dakshina-Kosala, South Kosala, the northern being the same as Oudh. Travelling south about 900 li (nearly 200 miles), Hiouen Thsang comes to Ping-ki-lo, or Warangal, the capital of An-ta-lo, or Andhra, the ancient, and indeed the actual name of the kingdom of Telingana. The people, he says, are fierce and barbarous; their language is different from that of Central India, but the form of the letters is much the same. There are about twenty monasteries and thirty temples.

A thousand li south travelling through forests, which, it may be noticed, are everywhere abundant in this part of the Dakhin, the traveller comes to To-na-kie-tse-kia, equivalent to Dhanaka-cheka, a name which is not now recognisable; but Hiouen Thsang says the country is also called Great Andhra, which would be in Sanskrit Mahándhra, and which M. de St. Martin would identify therefore with Rajamahendri: he is obliged however, to admit that this is south-east, not south of Warangal, and we have already brought the traveller to this position on his way from Orissa. There is also a description of excavations, to which nothing in the neighbourhood of Rajamahendri corresponds. West of the city, says Hiouen Thsang, is a monastery called O-fa-lo-shi-lo Senghialan (or the convent of Avanasila): the first king of this country, constructed it, it is said, in honour of Buddha. He hollowed out the valley, made a road through it, opened the sides of the mountains, and erected pavilions: long galleries and great lateral chambers rested on the grottoes, and communicated with the excavations: for a thousand years after Buddha's Nirvána, these caves were frequented by sages and saints; after that time the

inhabitants were mixed up with low people, and the monastery had been abandoned for a century. This account would rather relate to some of the earliest Buddhist excavations, such as those of Ellora, and the bearing and distance would not be very different from those specified.

At a distance of 1000 li (200 miles) lay the kingdom of Chau-li-ye, the Chaula of the Bhágavat, Chola of Menu; it appears higher up in the Dakhin than it should be placed according to local tradition, but the term was used with some latitude, as I have had former occasion to observe. Buddhism was here nearly extinct, and the naked followers of Siva were in great numbers.

The next kingdom is that of Ta-lo-pi-cha, or Drávíra, at a distance of 1500 or 1600 li (320 miles). Properly speaking, we should have come to Drávíra before or on the north of Chola, but the two are to a certain degree the same, and the former is apparently more inland, whilst Chola is the coast; for the capital of Drávíra is called Kien-chi-pu-lo—almost a literal transcript of the ancient Sanskrit name Kanchipura, modernised as Conjeveram. Although Brahmanism boasted of eighty temples and numerous naked mendicants, Buddhism was more flourishing here than in most cities, as Hiouen Thsang says the city contains 100 monasteries and 10,000 ascetics.

M. de St. Martin limits Hiouen Thsang's southern travels to Kánchi, and conceives the next country he notices, Mo-lo-kiu-cha, Malakúta, to have been known to him only by report. The text, however, says, —"En partant de ce pays il fit environ trois mille li au sud, et arriva au royaume de Mo-lo kiu-cha." At the same time further on it is said that on leaving the kingdom of Drávíra, he travelled north, and passing through forests and unoccupied plains as well as several small towns, he came to the Konkan. At any rate the distance of the route Mo-la-kiu-cha is much exaggerated; for, instead of 600 miles, half that quantity from Kánchi reaches the extreme point of the peninsula. There is also some confusion as to the characteristics of the locality, or it comprises a wider extent than the identity of the name with Ma-la-ya would usually denote. It is bounded on the south by the sea. This applies to the whole extremity of the peninsula. Thence rise the mountains on which grows the sandal-tree Chen-ta-ni-po, Chandana, which carries us over the Western Ghats into Travancore. According to Hiouen Thsang, the camphor-tree also grows in these mountains,—Kie-pu-lo, Karpura. Leaving Malakuta in the direction of the north-east a town on the sea-coast is reached named Che-li-to, Charitrapura "a town of departure," as from hence vessels sail to Seng-kia-lo, Sinhala or Ceylon.

Hiouen Thsang did not visit Ceylon, and the particulars he relates of it are merely legendary. He mentions, however, in accordance with tradition, the introduction of Buddhism by Mo-hi-in-to-lo, Mahendra, the younger brother of Asoka, and he speaks of the vihára of the tooth of Buddha, adjoining to the palace of the king.

After this it is said that Hiouen Thsang proceeds from Drávíra to Kong-kien-na-pu-lo, Konkanapura, or the Concan. His account of the kingdom is brief; the only notice of interest is, that the people throughout India use the leaf of the palm for writing upon. The distance is 2000 li (400 miles), which will bring us into the Bijapur district. M. de St. Martin thinks it possible that the capital, which is not separately named, may have been the ancient city Bánavásí, on the Tungabhadra. From hence Hiouen Thsang proceeds 2500 li (500 miles) to the country and city of Mo-ho-la-cha, in which name we have no doubt Mahárashtra. This distance would bring him into Kandesh, which would not be inconsistent with his next journey westward 1000 li, or 200 miles, following the course of the Nai-mo-tho or Narmada river to Pu-lo-kie-che-po, Varikachapura,—the Barygaza of Ptolemy, or Baroch. We have no other clue to the site of the capital of Maharashtra than the description of an extensive and elaborately excavated vihára on the eastern frontier, where all around upon the rock are sculptured various events in the life of Buddha in the most exact detail, and where a stone elephant stands at each of the gates of the Vihar, facing the cardinal points of the horizon. We have no knowledge of any excavations in this direction. The sculptures of events in Buddha's life would apply very well to those of Amravati, which could not be very much out of the way, but we have no mountain nor caves.

In this part of Hiouen Thsang's travels, as observed by M. de St. Martin, there is much less precision both as to bearings and distances than has so far prevailed, and the probability of identification is proportionally diminished. The accounts are shorter and more meagre, and there are various irreconcileable differences between the account in the life and in the narrative of the Si-yu-ki.

The first kingdom to which Hiouen Thsang travels from Baroch is Mo-la-po or Málava. He makes the distance 2,000 li, which is at least twice too much, and places it on the south-east of the Mo-ho (Mahi) river, which would take us to Dhár—the capital of Malava, as we know at a not much later period. It is one of the two places where the study of Buddhist books is most assiduously pursued, the other being Magadha; and Dhar had, at a somewhat later date under Bhoja, a high literary reputation. Buddhism had several hundred

monasteries here, but the heretics had an equal number of temples, and were very numerous.

Two thousand four or five hundred li (500 miles) south-west we come to the kingdom of O-cha-li, at the confluence of two seas: the bearing would bring us to the extremity of the peninsula of Kattiwar, and the distance from Ujayin or Dhar would not be much in excess. By the confluence of the two seas we may also understand the mouth of the Gulf of Cutch. We have no help, however, in the name; but the next move, 300 li (60 miles) to the north-west, brings us to the province of Kie-cha; and here, name, bearing, and distance place us confidently in Cutch, the Sanskrit Kachcha, or maritime region.

Hiouen Thsang now proceeded, it is said, 1000 li (200 miles) north, to Fa-la-pi, in which we recognise Vallabhi. The distance is not far out, but the bearing is most indubitably altogether wrong: from no part of Cutch could the city of Vallabhi lie north, being in the Gujerat peninsula, while, if the kingdom said to be 6000 li, or 1200 miles in circuit be carried into Rajputana and Malwa, we have more of an easterly than westerly direction. The bearing of the capital, however, was south-east. M. de St. Martin says that the kingdom of Vallabhi was also called Pe-lo-lo, or Lolo of the north, and Lo-lo he identifies with the Sanskrit Láta, applied to this part of India, the Lár of the Hindus and Larike of the Greeks. The application of the term is correct, in part, but neither in the Si-yu-ki nor in the memoir do I find any such name as Lo-lo given by Hiouen Thsang. It appears to be derived from some other version of his travels, cited by M. Jacquet (Jour. Asiatic Society of Bengal, v. 685).

From Vallabhi an excursion apparently takes place to a state dependent on Malwa, called O-non-to-pu-lo, Anandapura, 700 li north-west; but he again sets out from Vallabhi, and, proceeding 500 li west, comes to the kingdom of Su-la-cha, or Surâshtra. The distance is sufficiently exact, but the bearing again is entirely wrong, and it should be east, not west. The country is dependent on Vallabhi; it contains 50 monasteries and 100 temples. The city is a great emporium of trade. Near the capital is the mountain called Yeou-chen-ta Ujayanta, in which there are excavations. Although the name is identifiable there is considerable perplexity as to the position. It is not, according to M. de St. Martin, either the Surastrene of the Greeks nor the Surath of modern times, but part of Gujerat or Kattiwar, the capital being Junagarh, in the vicinity of the mountain Ujayanta. It is difficult to reconcile this with the relative position of Vallabhi and

with the statement of Hiouen Thsang, that the capital touches the Mahi river on the west, which places it on the east of the Gulf of Cambay or the Mahi-kanta, a position quite incompatible with that of Junagarh.

From Su-la-cha it would seem that Hiouen Thsang returned to Vallabhi, for he again starts from that city and travels about 1300 li (260 miles) north, to the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo, Gurjara, the capital of which he calls Pi-lo-mo-lo. Supposing the bearing and distance correctly given, or nearly so, we come far into Rajputana, near to Jesalmer. We have no authority for applying Gurjara to any country in this direction, but the name is not uncommon, and we have a Gurjara still more to the north. Pi-lo-mo-lo has been identified, by M. Reinaud, with the Pahlmahl of Albiruni, an important city, between Multan and Anhilwara, the Balmair or Bharmair of Marwar, according to M. de St. Martin, about thirty leagues south-west of Jesalmer, a not improbable identification.

A sudden return to the south-east brings Hiouen Thsang, after a journey of 2800 li (560 miles) to U-che-yen-na, which is clearly Ujjayini or Ougein, the king of which was a Brahman, and consequently Buddhism was at a low ebb. He then goes to Chi-ki-to, north-east 1000 li, considered to be the modern Khajuri, twenty-five leagues south-west of Gwalior: thence, in the same direction 900 li, to Mo-hi-chi-fa-lo-pu-lo, which M. de St. Martin identifies with Macheri, perhaps Matsyavara, in support of which conjecture it is to be remembered that this part of India is known, in Sanskrit geography, as the Matsyadesa. Little is said of these two principalities, as they were both ruled by Brahman princes, and did not follow the faith of Buddha.

Departing from hence Hiouen Thsang returned to Gurjara, whence he again set off towards the north, and, after passing, for 1900 li, through wild plains and dangerous deserts, he crossed the river Sin-tu, the Sindhu or Indus, and entered the kingdom so called. The capital is named Pi-shen-po-pulo, which M. de St. Martin thinks may be identical with Alore, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of the appellations. According to Captain Burton, Middle Sindh is called Vicholo, which offers some resemblance to the Chinese. Sindh, according to Hiouen Thsang, was an eminently Buddhist country, having several hundred monasteries, with ten thousand monks. He does not give the bulk of them, however, a very good character, for he says "en général ils sont indolents et adonnés à la débauche." The predominance of Buddhism in Sindh, in the beginning of the eighth century, is noticed by the Mohammadans.

From Sindh Hiouen Thsang makes an excursion to a country he

calls Po-fo-to, Sanskrit Parvata. It is said to be subject to Chekia, which we have seen is in the vicinity of Lahore, so that Po-fo-to will be in the Punjab. This position is confirmed by the intervention of the kingdom of Meu-lo-san-pu-lo, Múlasthána-pura, or Multan. Besides the coincidence of the name the city is particularised as the site of a magnificent temple of the sun, having an image of the sun in gold. This entirely agrees with the notice I have translated from the Bhavishyat Purana, and all Hindu tradition, which records the foundation of the temple and the consecration of a golden image of Aditya, by Sámba, the son of Krishna, in gratitude for his being cured by him of the leprosy.

Although it is not so stated, Hiouen Thsang must have returned from the Punjab to Sindh, as he departs from thence, and going 1500 or 1600 li south-west, comes to A-tien-po-chi-lo, which is equivalent, in M. Julien's system, to Adhyavakila, the capital of which is Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, Khajiswara. It is situated near the sea, and the direction and distance would bring it well enough to Karachi. How that name should properly be written or what it means we have not learned, and the verification of the names must be left in doubt. The same applies to the adjacent kingdom, Lang-kie-lo and its capital, Su-neu-li-shi-fa-lo, Sunuriswara. The country, it is said, is subject to Po-lo-sse or Persia. Lang-kie, M. de St. Martin thinks, may be traced in the tribe of the Langas or Langháü, still in the north-east of Baluchistan. The Langalas are also named in the Mahábhárata, but, as M. de St. Martin observes, we know nothing of the past and not much of the present condition of the countries west of the Indus, and should scarcely be able to follow the traveller, even if his steps were more precisely marked, but this part of his journey is very meagre and confused, and the accounts given of it in the biography and the Si-yu-ki irreconcileably at variance.

Hiouen Thsang's account of the next kingdom, Po-se, Po-lo-se, or Persia, is not from personal observation; the expression is not *il arrive*, but *on arrive*; he calls the capital Su-la-sang-ten-na, Surasthána. He is correct in giving a good extent—several tens of thousands of li—to its confines, and representing it as a wealthy and prosperous country: he speaks also of their irrigation by canals, the kariz of Persian agriculture, and, curiously enough, mentions that they use large pieces of silver money, a not incorrect description of the broad silver coins of the Sassanides. He calls their chief deity Ti-na-po, which might be intended for Dina-pá, the guardian of the day, the Sun.

We cannot identify his steps as he advances from Sindh to the north—first, 700 li (140 miles) to Pi-to-shi-lo; 300 li north-east to

O-fan-cha; 400 li further north-east to Fa-la-na, which is said to be subject to Kia-pi-she, so that we are now again near to Kabul; 2000 li (400 miles) farther, after crossing a mountain and a deep valley, he quits the frontiers of India and enters the kingdom of Tsao-kiu-cha, which M. de St. Martin thinks may offer traces of Rokhaj, the ancient Arakosia. We can scarcely doubt that the capital, Ho-si-mo, is intended for Ghazni, although it is doubtful what can be made of the second capital, which Hiouen Thsang calls Ho-su-lo. The name offers an obvious affinity to Hazara, and possibly the people so called may have been settled in this part of the country at the time of Hiouen Thsang's journey.

That the difficulty of verifying the traveller's course depends very much upon our imperfect acquaintance with the countries, is rendered probable by the comparative facility of verification when we know where we are; the bearings and distances which bring Hiouen Thsang to Hu-pi-an, the capital of Fo-li-shi-lang-na, conduct him to the city that still bears the same name, or Hupian, to the north of Kabul, at the foot of the Hindu Kosh, first made known to us by Mr. Masson, and which has borne a similar appellation for 2000 years, being the Alexandria Opiana of Stephanus of Byzantium, and one of Alexander's military colonies. The country, M. St. Martin thinks, may be recognised in Varda-sthana, the place or region of the Vardaks, one of the principal Affghan tribes, a name that may be also recognised in the classical Ortospana, or more correctly Orto, or Varta-sthana.

Hiouen Thsang now takes leave of India and threads his way back to China through Turkestan and Mongolia, by a route similar to that travelled by Marco Polo some six centuries later. We have not the same interest in keeping him company, but it is very curious to observe how successfully his route may be traced. The first place of note he comes to is An-to-lo-po lo, or Anderab; thence he comes to Ku-o-si-to, the Khost of Baber; Hai-o, the next place, is not verifiable; but Mung-kien is probably Mungan; in Ki-li-se-mo we may have the Scassem of Marco Polo, the Ishkasham of Elphinstone's map.

Proceeding up the valley of the Oxus, Hiouen Thsang comes to Pe-li-hor, or Bolor, 300 li (60 miles), about the actual distance of Bolor from Ishkasham; we then come successively to Hi-mo-ta-la, which wants an equivalent; to Po-lo-choang-na, or Badakhshan, to In-po-kien, south-east, more correctly north-east, 200 li to Vakhan; the next place is Khiu-lang-na, which may be Garanu, where the Lapis Lazuli mines are situated; then Ta-mo-sie-tie-ti, or Chin-kan, the capital of which is Hoen-to-to, or Kandat, on the left bank of the Oxus.

After a painful journey 700 li north-east, Hiouen Thsang passes

across snow-clad mountains to the valley of Po-miu-lo of great extent, the centre of which is occupied by a spacious lake, the table-land of Pamir, and the Sir-i-kol; thence over similar country the traveller comes to the kingdom Khie-pan-to, of which the direction and distance correspond with the site of a city called, by the Kirghis, Kar-chu; from thence he proceeds to Kie-sha, or Kashgar; the next stage U-sha corresponds as to direction, distance, and its position at the descent from the mountain region, with the present city of Ingashar; 500 li from hence south-east he comes to Cho-kia-kia, agreeing in position as well as appellation with Yar-kiang, or Yarkand; a still closer affinity identifies his next advance, as Kiu-sa-tan-na, the Sanskrit Ku-stana, is no doubt intended for Khoten.

Khoten was, from a remote period, a celebrated seat of Buddhism, and Hiouen Thsang has many sacred shrines to visit and marvellous legends to relate. One of these, the destruction of the weapons of an invading host, by a colony of rats, whom the king of Khoten had propitiated, is similar, as remarked by M. de St. Martin, to the story told by Herodotus, in his second book. Another story narrates the surreptitious introduction of mulberry plants and silk worms into Khoten, by a Chinese princess married to the king, and the consequent celebrity of Khoten for its silk manufactures.

From Khoten, Hiouen Thsang pursues his homeward route, across territories which he merely names, as Tu-ho-lo or Tukhara, Ni-mo and Na-po-po, or Leü-lan; the latter, according to Chinese authority, corresponding with the direction of Makai, on the south-west of the province of Sha-cheu. He was received, on his return, with especial honours, by order of the emperor, to whom he was presented at Loyang, and by whom he was ever afterwards treated with marked veneration, having accomplished a wonderful journey of at least 15,000 miles out and home, besides the digressions which he so frequently interposed.

Hiouen Thsang rarely indulges us with any personal adventures; he never complains of any ill-treatment or obstruction. The only impediments he encounters are those of country and climate, mountains, deserts, forests, cold and heat; and it is remarkable how little inconvenience he seems to have experienced. He speaks of robbers, but does not seem to have fallen in with them; and it is worthy of notice that they appear most frequently in India, not in Mongolia or Turkestan. In no part of his route does he seem to have suffered from any deficiency of supplies. Apparently he travelled alone or with a a few occasional companions; he never speaks of caravans. Much of his personal immunity from danger and facility of movement was no

doubt attributable, at least in his outward journey, to his appearance as a religious mendicant, with nothing but his staff, wallet, and water-pot to be deprived of, and he obtained provisions and frequent resting-places at the Buddhist monasteries on his route, which, although sometimes few and in decay, were never totally wanting wherever he went. On his return, however, he could not have travelled in so unnoticeable a condition, for he brought back with him five hundred packages of books, besides images of Buddha and various sacred relics constituting the burthen, it is said, of twenty-two horses,—a sufficiently imposing cavalcade. By what means and at whose expense he effected this conveyance is not mentioned; but it affords a remarkable proof of the civilized condition and orderly government of the countries which he traversed, that he should have passed over so long and arduous a route thus heavily incumbered without incurring, as far as appears from his narration, any sort of impediment or ill-usage.

It is much to be regretted that our enterprising pilgrim should have devoted his inquiries so almost exclusively to the objects of his superstitious veneration, and have entered so little into details we should have infinitely preferred, respecting the social and political condition of India. His notices of this nature are rare, scattered, and meagre, but there are a few which are not without interest, and there is a general description which is in the main correct. I purpose a further investigation of this part of his travels when I have leisure, and shall submit the result to the Society at some future opportunity.

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ON

THE SACRIFICE OF HUMAN BEINGS

AS

AN ELEMENT OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF INDIA.

BY

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON,

DIRECTOR.

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ON

HUMAN SACRIFICES

IN THE

ANCIENT RELIGION OF INDIA.

I PROPOSE to offer to the Society some illustrations of the sacrifice of human beings as an element of the ancient religion of India.

In the first book of the Rámáyana a curious legend is narrated of the son of the Rishi Richíka, named S'unahśephas, who was sold by his father for a hundred thousand cows to Ambaríśha, the king of Ayodhyá, to supply the place of a sacrificial animal or victim[1] intended for a sacrifice, but stolen by Indra. S'unahśephas is accordingly conveyed to the place of sacrifice, and being dressed in red garments and decorated with garlands of red flowers, is bound to the stake. By the advice of Viśwámitra he prays to Indra and Agni with two sacred verses (gáthás, according to Schlegel's edition; richas, in Gorresio's) communicated to him by the Rishi, and Indra bestows upon him long life, whilst at the same time the king is not disappointed of his reward. This version of the legend leaves it doubtful whether an actual sacrifice of the victim, or one only typical, is intended.

The reference made in the Rámáyaña to the *sacred verses* by which S'unahśephas propitiated Indra, might lead us to expect some account of the transaction in the text of the Veda; and accordingly, in the first Ashtaka of the *Rig-veda* the sixth section contains a series of seven hymns, attributed to S'unahśephas, who addresses different divinities in succession. The object of his prayers is not, however, very decidedly pronounced, and in many respects they resemble those of any other worshipper soliciting food, wealth, cattle, and long life; and although liberation from bonds is asked for, yet the text itself intimates that these are only figurative, being the fetters of sin. Neither does it

[1] Schlegel's reading is *yajna-pas'u*, which he renders simply by *victima*. Gorresio's text is more explicit: in the first place the victim is carried off from the post whilst the king is engaged, *nara-medhena*, "intanto ch'egli offriva un sacrifizio umano;" and in the next, it is said, in a rather questionable hemistich, however, that the theft was a man endowed with all lucky marks, appointed to be a victim, *naram lakshaña-sampúrñam pasutwe niyojitam*. Schlegel's edition also has a passage to the same purport, that the stolen victim is to be recovered, or a man substituted in its place, and virtually, therefore, the two editions agree, although not exactly in words.

appear that any of the deities called upon rescue him from any situation of personal peril, and the recompense of his praises is the gift of a golden chariot by Indra, a present rather incompatible with his position as an intended victim. Hence the late Dr. Rosen was led to infer that the Vaidik hymn, except in one or two doubtful passages, bore no relation to the legend of the Rámáyaña, and offered no indication of a human victim deprecating death.—"In nullo autem horum carminum (si initium hymni quatuor-vigentesimi excipias, quod sane ita intelligi potest) ne levissimum quidem indicium hominis in vitæ discrimen vocati et mortem deprecantis."

Whatever may be the conclusions to be drawn from the legend of S'unahśephas as it appears in the Rámáyaña or in the Rig-veda, there is no question of its purport as it is found in the Aitareya Bráhmaña which is considered to be the Bráhmaña portion of the Rig-veda; and as the story as there told is characteristic of the style of that and similar works, the precise nature of which is yet but little known, none having been translated or printed, and as several curious circumstances are comprised in the tradition, it will not perhaps be uninteresting to have the story as it is there narrated.

Hariśchandra the son of Vedhas, was a prince of the race of Ikshwáku: he had a hundred wives, but no son. On one occasion the two sages, Nárada and Parvata were residing in his palace; and he said one day to Nárada, "Tell me, why do all creatures, whether possessed of intelligence or devoid of it, desire male progeny? What benefit is derived from a son?" Nárada thus replied: "A father who beholds the face of a living son discharges his debt [to his forefathers], and obtains immortality. Whatever benefits accrue to living beings upon earth, in fire, or in water, a father finds still more in his son. A father, by the birth of a son, traverses the great darkness [of both worlds]. He is born as it were of himself, and the son is a well freighted boat to bear him across [the ocean of misery]. What matter the impurity [of childhood], the skin [of the student], the beard [of the householder], the penance [of the hermit]. Wish, Brahmans, for a son, for he is a world without reproach. Food, vital air, vesture, dwelling, gold, beauty, cattle, wedlock, a friend, a wife, a daughter, are all contemptible: a son is the light [that elevates his father] to the highest heaven. The husband is himself conceived by his wife, who becomes as it were his mother, and by her in the tenth month he is newly born; therefore is a wife termed genitrix (jáyá), for of her is a man born again (jáyate). Gods and Rishis implant in her great lustre, and the Gods say to men, this is your parent. There is no world for one without a son. This even know the beasts of the field, and to beget offspring pair indiscriminately

with their kind. [A son] is the much-commended certain path to happiness, by which all [rational] beings having male progeny travel; and birds and beasts are conscious of the same."

Having repeated verses to this effect, Nárada advised Haríśchandra to pray to Varuńa for a son, promising to present him as an offering to that divinity. "So be it," said the prince; and repairing to Varuńa he said: "Let a son be born unto me, and with him, I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuńa, and a son was born to the king, who was named Rohita. "A son has been born to you," said Varuńa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"An animal," replied the king, "is fit for sacrifice only after ten days from birth. When the term of purification shall have passed, I will sacrifice to you."—"Very well," said Varuńa. The ten days expired, and Varuńa said, "Now sacrifice with him to me." The king replied, "An animal is fit for sacrifice only when the teeth are cut; let the teeth come through, and then I will sacrifice to you." Varuńa consented: the teeth were cut: "and now," said Varuńa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"No," replied the king, "an animal is fit for sacrifice only when the first teeth are shed: let the teeth be shed, and then I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuńa.

Well, the teeth were shed; "And now," said Varuńa, "sacrifice with him to me."—"No," objected the king; "an animal is fit for sacrifice only when his [second] set of teeth are through; wait till then, and I will perform the sacrifice." Varuńa assented. The second teeth were cut. "Now," said Varuńa, "his teeth are produced; sacrifice with him to me."—"No," replied the king, "for a kshatriya is not fit for sacrifice until he has been invested with arms: let him receive his martial investiture, then I will sacrifice to you."—"So be it," said Varuńa. The youth grew, and was invested with arms; and Varuńa said, "now sacrifice to me with him." The king replied, "Be it so." But he called his son, and said, "My child, Varuńa gave you to me, and I have also promised to sacrifice with you to him."—"By no means," said the youth; and taking his bow, he set off to the forest, where he wandered for a twelvemonth.

Upon Rohita's disappearance Varuńa afflicted the descendant of Ikshwáku with dropsy; which when Rohita heard he set off to return home. On the way he was met by Indra in the shape of a Brahman, who said to him, "We have heard, Rohita, that prosperity attends him who undergoes great labour, and that a man, although excellent, is held in disesteem if he tarries amongst his kin. Indra is the friend of the wanderer, therefore do thou wander on—wander on." Thus spake the Brahman; and Rohita passed a second year in the woods.

At the end of that period he turned towards home, but Indra, as a

mortal, again met him, and said, "The feet of the traveller bear flowers, his body grows and puts forth fruit. All his sins are effaced by the fatigue he incurs in travelling a good road and they fall asleep. Wander on, therefore—wander on." So said the Brahman; and Rohita spent another year in the woods.[1]

At the end of the third year the prince resumed his journey homewards. He was met as before by Indra in a human form, who said to him, "The prosperity of a man who sits down inactive, sits also still. It rises up when he rises, it slumbers when he sleeps, and moves when he moves. Wander on, therefore—persist—wander on;" and Rohita remained a fourth year in the forests.

At the end of the fourth year, Rohita was again stopped by Indra, who said, "The sleeper is the Kali age; the awaker is the Dwápara; the riser is the Treta, but the mover is the Krita age. Wander on, therefore—wander on;" and Rohita tarried a fifth year in the woods.

At the close of the fifth year he was returning home, but as before Indra encountered him, and said, "The wanderer finds honey—the wanderer finds the sweet fig tree. Behold the glory of the Sun, who, ever-moving, never reposes. Wander on, therefore—wander on." So Rohita returned for the sixth year to the forests.

Whilst wandering thus in the woods he encountered the Rishi Ajigartta, the son of Suyavasa, who was distressed through want of food. He had three sons, S'unahpuchcha, S'unahśephas, and S'unalángula. Rohita said to him, "Rishi, I will give thee a hundred cows for one of these thy sons, that by him I may redeem myself." But the Rishi, taking hold of the eldest, said, "Not this one;" "No, nor this one," said the mother, securing the youngest; but they both agreed to sell the middle son S'unahśephas, and Rohita having paid the hundred cows, took the youth and departed from the woods. He proceeded to his father and said, "Rejoice, father, for with this youth shall I redeem myself." So Hariśchandra had recourse to the royal Varuña, and said, "With this youth will I sacrifice to you." And Varuña replied, "Be it so—a Brahman is better than a Kshatriya;" and thence directed the king to perform the sacrificial ceremony termed the Rájasúya; and he, on the day of initiation, appointed S'unahśephas to be the human victim.

At that sacrifice of Hariśchandra, Viswámitra was the Hotri or reciter of the Rich; Jamadagni, the Adhwaryu, or repeater of the Yajush; Vaśishtha, the Brahmá or superintending priest, and Yásya the Udgátri, or chaunter of the Sáma; but they had no one who was com-

[1] Prapathi. The commentary says, "in going to tírthas," &c.

petent to perform the office of binding the victim, when consecrated, to the stake, whereupon Ajigartta said, "If you give me another hundred cows I will perform the duty;" and they gave him the cows, and he bound the victim. But for the victim thus consecrated and bound, sanctified by the divinities of sacrifice, and thrice circumambulated by the priests bearing burning brands of sacred grass, no immolator could be found [amongst the ministrant Brahmans], when Ajigartta again offered himself, saying, "Give me another hundred cows and I will immolate him;" accordingly they gave him the cows, and he went forth to sharpen his knife.[1] In this interval S'unahśephas reflected, "These [people] will put me to death as if I were not a man[2] but an animal; my only hope is the aid of some of the gods, to whom I will have recourse." So thinking, he prayed to Prajápati, the first of the gods, with the prayer 'Kasya núnam,' &c.; but Prajápati said, "Agni is the nearest of the gods, appeal to him." He did so, saying, 'Agner vayam:' on which Agni said to him, "Savitri is the lord of all the protecting powers, pray to him;" so S'unahśephas repeated 'Abhi twá deva.' Savitri said, "You are dedicated to the royal Varuńa, appeal to him," which S'unahśephas did in the thirty-one following stanzas, beginning 'Na hi te kshatram.' Varuńa said "Agni is the mouth of the gods, and most friendly [to man], praise him, and we will set you free," which S'unahśephas did in twenty-two stanzas,[3] beginning 'Vasishtháhi.' Agni said, "Praise the Viśwadevas, and then we will liberate you;" so S'unahśephas praised them, saying, 'Namo mahadbhyah,' &c.; but the Viśwadevas said, "Indra is the mightiest of the gods, the most excellent, and the most able to lead men to happiness; worship him, and we will loose you;" so S'unahśephas praised Indra with the hymn beginning 'Yach-chidhi satya somapá;' and Indra, being pleased by his prayer, gave him a golden chariot.[4] He nevertheless recommended him to propitiate the Aświns; he did so, and they desired him to praise Ushas, or the personified dawn, which he did in three concluding stanzas, on repeating which his bonds fell off, and he was set free; and the king, the father of Rohita, was cured of his complaint.

Then the priests said to him, "Perform the completion of this our rite to-day;" on which he showed to them the [mode of] offering the libation of the Soma juice, accompanying it by four stanzas, beginning

[1] Or sword, "*asim nis'ánáyeyáya.*"

[2] Or, "as if I were not a man;" for according to the Veda, in the case of a man, after circumambulating, they let him go, and substitute a goat.

[3] We have twenty-three in the text; the last is to be omitted, as not addressed to Agni.

[4] It is said, "in his mind;" perhaps meaning that he purposed to give it to him.

'Yach-chidhi;' then having brought the pitcher (drona kalasa,) he directed the remainder to be poured into it, with the stanza 'Uchchistham chambor,' and then with the swáhá, preceded by four stanzas, made the oblation, concluding with an offering to fire.[1]

When the rite was completed, S'unahśephas placed himself by the side of Viśwámitra, to whom Ajigartta the son of Suyavasa said, "Give me my son;" but Viśwámitra answered, "No, the gods have given him to me." Hence he was called Devaráta[2] (the God-given,) the son of Viswámitra, from whom descended the Kápileyas and Bábhravas. Ajigartta then appealed to S'unahśephas, and said, "My son, your mother and I intreat your return;" and finding him silent, continued, "you are by birth the son of Ajigartta of the race of the Angirasas, learned and renowned; do not separate from your great grandsire's descendants, but come back to me." To which S'unahśephas answered, "All present saw you with the implement of immolation in your hand:[3] such a sight was never beheld even amongst S'údras. Descendant of Angiras, you have preferred three hundred cows to me." Then said Ajigartta, "My child, the wicked act that I have committed afflicts me sorely. I repent me of it. Let the three hundred cows be thine." S'unahśephas answered, "He who has once done a wicked deed will be liable to repeat it. Thou canst never be free from the disposition of the vile [S'údras]. Thou hast done what is unpardonable."—"Unpardonable!" repeated Viśwámitra, and said, "Dreadful appeared the son of Suyavasa, armed with a weapon, intending to slay. Let not his son be his, but become a son of mine." But then said S'unahśephas to Viswámitra, "Son of a king, explain to me how this may be, that I, of the race of Angiras, can be in the relation of a son to thee?" Viśwámitra answered, "Thou shalt be the eldest of my own, and an excellent progeny shall be thine. Thou comest to me as the gift of the gods, and therefore I welcome thee."—"But," said S'unahśephas, "who will assure me, best of the Bháratas, of the concurrence of these [thy sons] for my affiliation and seniority if I become thy son?" Thereupon Viśwámitra called his sons together and said, "Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Renu, Ashtaka, and all the rest of the brethren, listen to my commands, and dispute not the seniority of S'unahśephas." Now Viśwámitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty of whom were senior and fifty junior to Madhuchhandas. The seniors did not

[1] This is obscure, being little else than the text; but it relates to a particular ceremony called the "Anjas Sava," (Sava Abhishava rijju-márgena,) "the right-way oblation."

[2] Theodotus, Deodatus.

[3] *S'ása-hastam sarve api adris'uh. S'ása* is explained by *vis'asana-hetuh*, the cause or implement of immolating, or *khadga*, a sword.

approve o the adoption, and Viśwámitra cursed them and said, "Your progeny shall be degraded;" and consequently their descendants were the A'ndhras, Púndras, Sabara' Pulindas, and Mútivas. Thus there are numerous degraded races sprung from Viśwámitra, forming the greater portion of the barbarous tribes [Dasyus]. On the other hand, Madhuchhandas and the fifty who were his juniors said, "We accede to whatever our father considers right. We all give thee, S'unahśephas, precedence, and acknowledge ourselves to be subordinate to thee." Viśwámitra, therefore, much pleased with them, said, "Your sons shall be affluent in cattle and possessed of offspring."

The latter circumstances told by the *Aitareya Bráhmaña* of the descent of barbarous tribes from the sons of Viśwámitra, although suggestive of inquiry, are foreign to our present purpose, and need not be further noticed. The main purport of the quotation, the actual sacrifice of a human victim, is fully established, at least at the period of the compilation of the Bráhmaña: how far that expresses the practice of the Veda period may admit of question.

It is the received opinion of Hindu writers that the Bráhmañas are an integral part of the Veda. Thus Sáyana, the great scholiast on the Vedas, in the introductory discussion on these writings prefixed to his explanation of the text of the Rich, observes upon the authority of Apastamba, "Veda is the denomination of the Mantras and the Bráhmañas." By the Mantras are meant the hymns and prayers; and the Bráhmañas, say the Mímánsakas, are intended to elucidate and, as it were, individualize the objects which are only generally adverted to in the hymns, as where it is said in the S'ukta, or hymn, "give abundantly," the Bráhmaña explains it, "give or offer clarified butter in abundance." The same authorities declare that the Veda consists of two parts, Mantra and Bráhmaña; and that the only unexceptionable definition which can be given of the latter is, that all that portion of the Veda which is not Mantra is Bráhmaña. In exact conformity to these original authorities is the following statement of Mr. Colebrooke. "Each Veda consists of two parts, denominated the Mantras and the Bràhmañas, or prayers and precepts. The complete collection of the hymns, prayers, and invocations belonging to one Veda is entitled its Sanhitá. Every other portion of Indian Scripture is included under the general head of divinity—Bráhmaña. This comprises precepts which inculcate religious duties, maxims which explain those precepts, and arguments which relate to theology." To these may be added narratives which illustrate precepts and practices, or explain incidents connected with the origin or objects

of the Mantras, such as that of S'unahśephas, which has been cited.

Notwithstanding the concurrence of these authorities and the generally prevalent opinion of the Hindus, it requires but a cursory inspection of such a work as the Aitareya Bráhmaña to deny the accuracy of the attribution. This Bráhmaña is not an integral part of the Rig-veda, and never could have been so. It is a work of a totally different era, and a totally different system, and if, as is likely it may be, it is to be received as a type of other similar compilations, conforming as it does accurately enough to the general description, we shall be authorized to draw the same inference with respect to all, and to separate the Bráhmaña's from the Hindu religion as it appears in the Sanhitás, or collections of the prayers and hymns.

The Aitareya Bráhmaña, as will have been observed in the translation of the legend of S'unahśephas, refers to the hymns or Súktas of the Sanhitá, specifying the number of verses in which he was fabled to have addressed the gods, agreeably to their order and place in the Sanhitá. Again, in stating that he taught to the priests the manner of offering libations, it quotes the leading phrases of different S'úktas which are to be found in different and distant portions of the Sanhitá. This, it may be observed, is in strict agreement with the general arrangement of the Bráhmaña: directions are given for the performance of various religious rites, and the hymns, or portions of the hymns which are to be repeated on such occasions, are quoted in the same manner, merely by a few initial phrases, and taken from separate and unconnected parts of the Sanhitá, very commonly having little relation to the actual ceremony.

Now the fact, and still more, the manner of quoting the texts of the Sanhitá, necessarily lead to the conclusion, that the Sanhitá must have existed in its present form before the compilation of the Bráhmaña was undertaken, and as it must have been widely current and familiarly known, or the citation of broken and isolated texts could neither have been adopted nor verifiable, it must have assumed its actual arrangement long anterior to the compilation of the Bráhmaña. But the Sanhitá itself is of a date long subsequent to its component parts. There is no doubt of the accuracy of the tradition that the hymns of the Vedas had long been current as single and unconnected compositions, preserved in families or schools by oral communication, probably for centuries; and that they were finally collected and arranged as we now have them, by a school or schools of learned Brahmans, of which Vyása, (possibly an abstraction, as it means merely an arranger,) was the nominal head. Allowing, therefore, a considerable period before

the Sanhitás were collected into form, and another interval before they could be familiarly referred to, it follows that the Bráhmaṅas cannot be an integral part of the Veda, understanding thereby the expression of the primitive notions of the Hindus, and that they are not entitled to be classed as authorities for the oldest and most genuine system of Hindu worship.

In fact, in the Bráhmaṅas we find fully developed the whole Brahmanical system, of much of which we have but faint and questionable indications in the Mantras. We have the whole body of both religious and social institutions—a variety of practices alluded to of a more complicated texture than the apparently simple ritual of the Sanhitá; and the complete recognition both in name and practice of the different castes, the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the S'údra: we have also the Brahmans distinguished as differing among themselves in tribe and dignity, and sometimes engaged in disputes for precedence and the exclusive performance of particular rites, all which it may be observed is incontrovertible proof that a very long interval had elapsed between the composition of the S'úktas and the Bráhmaṅas—between the first dawn and the noon-day culmination of the Brahmanical system.

Having come to the conclusion then that the Bráhmaṅas are not an integral part of the primitive Veda or Hindu system, but admitting that they may be considered as an essential part of the Veda of the Brahmans, or as a scriptural authority for the Brahmanical forms of worship, and for their social institutions when fully developed, we have next to consider the period to which they may belong, and how far they may be regarded as authentic representations of an ancient (though not the most ancient) religious and social system in India. This, as usual with all Hindu chronology, is a difficult question: certainty is unattainable, but we may come to probable conclusions within reasonable limits from internal evidence. The Bráhmaṅas are posterior to the discontinuance of exclusively oral teaching; they could not cite miscellaneous and unconnected texts to the extent to which they cite them, unless those texts had been accessible in a written shape. They are subsequent therefore to the use of writing, to which the hymns or Mantras were in great part, if not wholly, anterior. They are prior in all probability to the heroic poems, the Rámáyaṅa and Mahábhárata, as we have no allusions to the demigods and heroes whom they celebrate: no allusion to Krishṅa and Ráma, although the latter name occurs as that of a Brahman, the son or a descendant of Bhrigu, which has nothing to do with Ráma, the son of king Daśaratha, any more than the name of Krishṅa, which occurs in the Sanhitá as the name of an Asura, implies any allusion to the Krishṅa of the Mahábhárata. There is no

reference to any controversial opposition to the doctrines, or rites of Brahmanical Hinduism, although differences of opinion as to the purport of the performance of some ceremonies are adverted to, and so far therefore, we have no reference to Buddhism. Again, the Aitareya Bráhmaña is prior to the Sútras, or rules for conducting religious rites, ascribed to Aśwaláyana, Baudháyana, and others who are undoubtedly authors of a remote period. It is, perhaps, not far from the period of the oldest passages in the laws of Manu, in some of which we find allusions to the narratives of the Bráhmaña, as in the case of S'unahśephas, and also of a prince named Paijavana, who is not named in later works. In the etymology also of the term *jáyá*, a wife, as one in whom a man is born again in the person of a son, we have the very same words.[1] The Bráhmaña may be the earlier of the two, but not by any very great interval. Finally, the style although more modern than that of the Veda, is ancient and obscure, and contains many words and phrases of Vaidik antiquity. Upon the whole, as a mere matter of conjecture, subject to reconsideration, I should be disposed to place the Aitareya Bráhmaña about six or seven centuries before the Christian era.

So far, therefore, it may be received as authority to a qualified extent for the primitive practices of the Hindus, and for including amongst them the sacrifice, on particular occasions, of human victims. Not that the practice ever prevailed to the extent to which it spread through most of the ancient nations, or partook in general of the same character. These, it has been asserted, were entirely of an expiatory nature, performed under an impression of fear, and intended to deprecate the anger of the Gods. Such were the sacrifices of the Druids, the Scythians, and the Phœnicians; and such were the Thargelia of the Athenians, when a man and woman were annually put to death in order to expiate the sins of the public, and redeem them from any national calamity. They were not, however, restricted to this source, but were not unfrequently vindictive, as when prisoners taken in war were sacrificed, like the three hundred citizens of Perusia whom Augustus offered in one day to his deified uncle (Divo Julio); or as the Grecian navigators whom the barbarians of Tauris sacrificed to Artemis whenever cast upon their shores. They had their origin also in notions of divination, as was the case in the worship of Mithra, when auguries were taken from the entrails of human victims; and they seem in some instances to have been suggested by a purely sanguinary spirit, as was the case with the perpetually recurring sacrifices to Baal and Moloch in the Phœnician Colonies, and especially in Carthage.[2] No intimation of any such

[1] Manu, b. ix. v. 8.

[2] See Bryant's Chapter on Anthropothusia and Teknothusia, vol. vi. p. 294.

purposes are traceable in the indistinct allusions to human sacrifices in the Veda. Their object seems to have been the propitiation of some divinity, by devoting to him that which was most precious to the sacrificer. This feeling seems also to have been very widely diffused throughout the East in the most ancient times, as was the practice of the individual of pledging himself to the act by a solemn promise or vow. We might infer that the practice was not unknown to the patriarchal era, from the conduct of Abraham when commanded to offer up his son; for although he would not under any circumstances have hesitated to obey the divine command, yet he might, consistently with his obedience, have expressed some surprise at the injunction, had the purport of it been wholly unfamiliar. At a later date in the Jewish history we have a similar sort of sacrifice under a solemn previous engagement in the vow of Jephtha; and it is worthy of remark that one of the causes assigned by the Greek writers to the detention of the fleet at Aulis, and consequent sacrifice of Iphigenia, was Agamemnon's violation of the vow which he had made to offer to Diana the most lovely thing which the year in which his daughter was born should produce: Iphigenia was that thing, and the sacrifice was insisted on in satisfaction of the vow. The offering of children to Moloch, subsequently borrowed by the Jews from their idolatrous neighbours, originated probably in a similar feeling, which it is evident exercised a very extensive influence over the nations of Western Asia in remote antiquity, and, as appears from the story of S'unahśephas, was not confined to that quarter, but had reached the opposite limits of Asia at a period at least prior by ten or twelve centuries to the Christian era.

Further, we find a like community of ideas in the institution of vicarious sacrifices. In the story of S'unahśephas, one human victim is substituted for another, whilst in the parallel cases of antiquity the substitutes were animals. It is not unlikely that this was also a primitive notion of the Hindus, and at any rate it had become so by the time of the Bráhmaṅas; for S'unahśephas is made to say, "They will put me to death as if I were not a man"—that is, according to Sáyana's commentary, founded upon a text of the Veda which he cites, but which is not easily verified, when the assistants had circumambulated the person bound to the stake, they set him free without any detriment, and substituted an animal (a goat) in his place. Hence Mr. Colebrooke concluded that the Purusha-medha, or sacrifice of a man, was never anything but typical; and the ceremony as enjoined in the S'atapatha Bráhmaṅa of the Yajush, on which his opinion was founded, is evidently of that character. In this, one hundred and eighty-five men of various specified tribes, characters, and professions, are bound

to eleven yúpas, or posts, and after recitation of a hymn celebrating the allegorical immolation of Náráyana, they are liberated unhurt, and oblations of butter are offered on the sacrificial fire. Hence Mr. Colebrooke concludes that human sacrifices were not authorized by the Veda itself, but were either then abrogated and an emblematical ceremony substituted in their place, or they were introduced in later times by the authors of such works as the Kálika Puráña, for instance, in which minute directions are given for the offering of a human victim to Káli, whom it is said his blood satisfies for a thousand years.

That human offerings to the dark forms of S'iva and Durgá were sometimes perpetrated in later times, we know from various original sources, particularly from that very effective scene in the drama of Mádhava and Málatí, in which Aghoraghanta is represented as about to sacrifice Málatí to Chámundá, when she is rescued by her lover. No such divinities, however, neither S'iva nor Durgá, much less any of their terrific forms, are even named, so far as we know, in the Vedas, and therefore these works could not be authority for their sanguinary worship. That the practice is enjoined on particular occasions by the Tantras and some of the Puráñas connected with this branch of the Hindu faith, is, no doubt, true; but these are works of a much later date, within the limits mostly of the Mohammedan government within the period of which the works were compiled, and under which their injunctions could not safely have been carried into operation; and they never amounted perhaps to more than the expression of the feeling inspired by the character of the divinities worshipped, although they may have been occasionally attempted to be realized by some fierce and fanatical enthusiasts. These practices, therefore, are of a very different character from those which there is reason to believe might have actually taken place, though rarely and under special circumstances, under the authority of the Veda, and which originated in a common feeling and faith diffused throughout the most civilized nations of the world—the nations of the East—in the remotest periods of antiquity.

Remarks by Raja Radhakanta Deva, on Art. XI., Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XVI, p. 201; *with Observations. By* Professor H. H. WILSON.

THE sixteenth volume of the Journal of our Society, has given insertion to a communication made by me, on the supposed authority of the Vedas, for the burning of Hindu widows, in which I have shown that the passage quoted as enjoining the practice, and as published by Mr. Colebrooke, in his Paper in the Asiatic Researches, upon the "Duties of a Sati or Faithful Widow," had been either purposely or accidentally wrongly read, and that so far from authorizing the rite, its real purport was the reverse; and that it expected the widow to repress her affliction and return to her worldly duties. This view was entirely confirmed by the explanation of the passage given by the celebrated commentator, Sáyana Achárya, and by the precepts of Aswaláyana, cited by Professor Maximilian Müller, published in continuation of my remarks on the same occasion. The revised reading has not proved acceptable to the Pandits of Calcutta, and the following letter is the expression of their sentiments. The writer, a friend of many years, Raja Radhakant Deb is well known as a leading member of the Native Society of Calcutta, who adds to the distinction of rank and station, that of a foremost place amongst Sanskrit scholars, as evinced by his great Lexicon or Literary Encyclopædia of the Sanskrit language, in seven quarto volumes; the Sabdákalpadruma, which enjoys a European as well as Indian celebrity. Any opinion coming from him on subjects connected with the ancient literature of his country is entitled to the greatest deference. The question of the authority for the Sati cremation is now, as he rightly observes, a matter merely for literary discussion, but as it is not without interest for the historian and antiquarian, his remarks will, I doubt not, be highly acceptable to those scholars who are engaged in the investigation of the ancient religion and history of the Hindus; and as he has no objection to their being laid before the public, I have thought it advisable to request a place for them in the Journal, although, as I

shall subsequently explain, they have not induced me to modify in the least my opinions on the subject, as my esteemed correspondent seems to anticipate.

My dear Dr. Wilson,

Although the abolition of the practice of Sahamarana in the British Indian territories has legally set the question at rest, and deprived it of all interest in the public eye, yet its discussion will always afford pleasure to the historian and antiquarian, and has its peculiar value in a literary point of view.

The perusal of your very interesting article "On the supposed Vaidic authority for the burning of Hindu Widows, and on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Hindús," which appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xvi. part i., having induced me to inquire whether any trace of this custom can be found in the Vedas, I have made certain discoveries and come to a conclusion, which I believe, would lead you to modify considerably the opinion you have formed on the subject.

The most explicit authority for the burning of a widow with her deceased husband, is to be found in the two verses of the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, quoted in the eighty-fourth Anuváka of the Náráyaníya Upanishad, of which I give the following literal translation, and subjoin[1] the original text with the commentary of Sáyanáchárya:—

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[1] Text. अग्ने व्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि पत्यानुगमव्रतं चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयं तन्मे राध्यतां ॥ १ ॥ Com. हे अग्ने कर्मसाक्षिन् । यतः त्वं व्रतानां प्राजापत्याद्यखिलव्रतानां व्रतपतिरसि । पुनर्व्रतग्रहणं त्वमेव व्रतानामधिपतिर्नान्य इति नियमनो धनाय ॥ तस्मान् मयाचर्य्यमाणं यत् सांप्रतिकं व्रतं तद्यथाहं कर्त्तुं शकेयं तथाराध्यतां क्रियतामित्यर्थः । धातूनामनेकार्थत्वात् । किं त्वयाचर्य्यमाणं तद्व्रतमिति पत्यानुगमेति पत्या भर्त्रा सह अनुमृत्यगमनव्रतं चरिष्यामि करिष्यामीत्यर्थः ॥

1. "Oh! Agni, of all Vratas[1], thou art the Vratapati[2], I will observe the vow (Vrata) of following the husband. Do thou enable me to accomplish it!"

2. "Here (in this rite), to thee O Agni, I offer salutation; to gain the heavenly mansion I enter into thee (wherefore), Oh Jataveda[3]; this day, satisfied with the clarified butter (offered by me), inspire me with courage (for Sahagamana) and take me to my lord."

Agreeably to this general Vaidic injunction, the Sutrakáras direct that the widow, like the sacrificial utensils of a Brahmana, should be made to lie upon the funeral pile of her husband, and accordingly as he was a Brahmana, Kshetriya, or Vaisya, a piece of gold, a bow, or a jewel is to be respectively placed thereupon.

To the widow so placed beside the lifeless body of her husband, the Mantras beginning with "... Udírshwa, &c.," and "Suvarna goong hastát, &c., Dhanurhastát, &c.," or "Manigoong hastát, &c.," are to be addressed[4] to her by her husband's brother or fellow-student, accordingly as he belonged to the priestly, military, or mercantile class.

Text. दृह त्वा अग्ने नमसा विधेय सुवर्गस्य लोकस्य समेत्यै। जुषाणो अद्य हविषा जातवेदो विशानि त्वा सत्वतो नय मा पत्युरग्ये ॥ Com. हे अग्ने दृह अस्मिन् कर्मणि। त्वा त्वामु द्दिश्य। हविषा हविर्भागेन। नमसा नमस्कारेण च। विधेयं नमो विदधामीत्यर्थः। किमर्थमित्युक्तौ तत्राह। सुवर्गस्येति सुवर्गस्य पतिसंप्राप्यलोकस्य। समेत्यै सम्यक् प्राप्त्यर्थं। त्वा त्वयीत्यर्थः सप्तम्यर्थे द्वितीया छान्दसी। विशानि प्रविशानि अत एव अद्य अस्मिन् दिने। हे जातवेदः हविषा मद्दत्तेन हविर्भागेण। जुषाणः सन्तुष्टः सन्। सत्वतः सत्वमार्गप्रदर्शनद्वारा सहगमनविषयक साहसप्रदानद्वारेति यावत्। मा मां पति मार्चिकदेवतां पत्युः मम भर्त्तुरग्ये समर्चं नय प्रापयेत्यर्थः ॥

[1] Vowed or voluntary observances.

[2] Lord of Vratas.

[3] Source of the Vedas.

[4] The first part of the address beginning with "Udírshwa," &c., is the same in respect of the funeral of the first three classes: by this Mantra the widow is requested to leave the corpse and to return to her abode. The remaining three Mantras are to be addressed to the widow of a Brahmana, Kshetriya, and Vaisya

If the widow thus addressed has not made up her mind for her immolation, she obeys the call; but should she be firm in her resolve, she consoles her friends and relatives, and enters the fire.

Extracts[1] from Bharadwája and Aswaláyana, and from the Saha-

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respectively, whereby she is required to lift up from the funeral pile the respective symbols of the deceased, and therewith to rub his hands. This call forms an important part of the ceremony.

[1] अथैनं चितावुपर्य्यधूहत्यचैव वा पत्याः संवेशना क्रियत इति ॥ Bharadwája's Sútra, Prasna 1.

अथैतानि पात्राणि योजयेद्दक्षिणे हस्ते जुहूं सव्य उपभृतं दक्षिणे पार्श्वे स्रुवं सव्ये अग्निहोत्रहवणीमुरसि ध्रुवां शिरसि कल्पानानीत्यादि Aswaláyana's Grihya Sútra, Adhyáya iv. 3.

उत्तरतः पत्नीं ॥ Com. ततः प्रेतस्योत्तरतः पत्नीं संवेशयन्ति। शाययन्तीत्यर्थः। चितावेव उपशेष इति लिङ्गात्। एतावद्वर्णत्रयस्यापि समानं ॥ Ib. Adh. ii. 3.

उदीर्ष्वनार्य्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतमुपशेष इति। हस्त ग्राभस्य दिधिषोस्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंबभूथ ॥

हस्तौ सम्मार्ष्टि सुवर्णेन ब्राह्मणस्य सुवर्णं हस्तादिति। धनुषा राजन्यस्यधनुर्हस्तादिति। मणिना वैश्यस्य मणिं हस्तादिति ॥ Bharadwája's Sútra.

तामुत्थापयेद्देवरः पतिस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी जरद्दासो वोदीर्ष्व नार्य्यभिजीवलोकमिति Aswa, ii. 2.

उत्तरतः पत्नीं। तां प्रेतस्योत्तरतः सुप्तां सत्त्वरहितां देवरः शिष्यो वा करे धृत्वा नमस्कृत्य उदीर्ष्वेति द्वाभ्यामुत्थापयेत्। सत्त्वाधिक्यात्तु स्वयमेव सुहृदः संबन्धिनः पुत्रांश्च समामंत्र्य भर्त्तारं विष्णुरूपं धृत्वा हुताशनं प्रविशेदित्युक्तं ॥* Sahamaranavedhi.

* Her (the widow) lying on the north of the deceased, if she want courage, her husband's brother, or fellow-student, or old servant shall, by reciting the two

maranavidhi, a work of much repute in Drávida, are quoted below in elucidation of these practices. From these Vaidic and Sautric injunctions have been derived the rules and directions for the immolation of the Sati, in the Smritis and Puránas.

After having thus shown the Vaidic authority for the Sahamarana, I shall offer some observations upon the conclusions you have drawn, on perusing the seventh and eighth Verses[1] of the second Súkta of the second Anuváka of the tenth Mandala of the Rigveda.

In the first place, on referring to Raghunandana's Suddhitattwa, whence Colebrooke derives his materials for his "Essay on the Duties of a Faithful Widow," published in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches, we find the author citing a verse[2] from the Rigveda and a passage[3] from the Brahma Purána, in order to show that the Veda authorizes Sahamarana. You suppose this verse to be an incorrect reading of the seventh Rich above alluded to, and support your reasoning by the Commentary of Sáyana and the directions of Aswaláyana.

Now, the shortest way in which our pandits would dispute this opinion, would be to assert that for aught that we moderns know, Raghunandana's citation may be altogether a different verse from the seventh Rich, and may be found somewhere, in any of the five Sákhás[4] of the Rigveda; inasmuch as the same verse, with slight variations of reading, and hence with different import and application, often occurs

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[1] इमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु। अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना रोहन्तु जनयो योनिमग्रे ॥ १ ॥

उदीर्ष्व नार्यभिजीवलोकं गतासुमेतं उपशेष एहि। हस्तग्रा भस्य दिधिषो स्तवेदं पत्युर्जनित्वमभिसंबभूथ ॥ ८ ॥

[2] इमा नारीरविधवाः सपत्नीराञ्जनेन सर्पिषा संविशन्तु। अनश्रवोऽनमीवाः सुरत्ना आरोहन्तु जनयो यो निमग्रेः ॥

[3] ऋग्वेदवादात् साध्वी स्त्री न भवेदात्मघातिनी ॥ *

[4] आश्वलायणी, सांख्यायनी, शाकला, वाष्कला, माण्डुकेयी

Mantras Udirshwa, &c., raise, holding her by the hand and saluting her; but if she have sufficient courage, she bidding adieu to her friends, relatives, and children, and contemplating the Vishnu-like form of her husband, enters the fire.

* "The loyal wife (who burns herself) shall not be deemed a suicide."

in the different Vedas, in various Sákhás of the same Veda, and sometimes in different places of the same Sákha of a Veda. The objection to the use of the epithets "Avidhavá" and "Sapatni," whereby you suppose the reason for burning to be wanting, can be easily answered by supposing the Sati (whose soul is, as it were, wedded to that of her husband), not to be widowed; actual practice, when it prevailed in India, may be considered as confirmatory of this opinion. The Sati, in making preparations for ascending the funeral pile, used to mark her forehead with Sindura, and to deck herself sumptuously with all the symbols of a Sadhavá.

But so long as the proper place of the verse quoted by Raghunandana, is not pointed out, the occidental pandits, who are making wonderful progress in Vaidic learning, may regard it an idle assertion. I shall therefore, for argument's sake, grant Raghunandana's citation to be a false reading of the seventh verse in question.

On this supposition you may be justified in coming to the conclusion, that the genuine reading of the passage rather discountenances than enjoins Sahamarana; but by referring to the subjoined Sútras[1] of Bharadwája and Aswaláyana, wherein they specify the rites in

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[1] नवम्यां व्युष्टायां यज्ञोपवीतीत्यन्तराग्रामं श्मशानं चाग्निमुपसमाधाय संपरिस्तीर्यापरेणाग्निं लोहितं चर्म्मानुडुहं प्राचीनग्रीवमुत्तरलोमास्तीर्य वेतसमानिनो ज्ञातीनारोहत्यारोहतेत्यथैनांननु पूर्व्वान् कम्पयति यथाहानीति प्रतिलोमकृतया चारण्या स्रुचा द्वे चतुर्गृहीते जुहोति न हि ते अग्ने तनुव इति दश च स्रुवाहुतीरअपनश्शो शुचदघमिति हुत्वापाश्यां सम्पातयत्यत्रोभयं प्रहरति येन जुहोत्यपरेनाग्निं लोहितोऽनड्वान् प्राङ् मुखोवस्थितो भवति तं ज्ञातयोऽन्वारभन्तेऽनड्वाहमन्वारभामह इति प्राञ्चीऽञ्चन्तीमे जीवा इति जघन्यो वेतसशाखया अवकाभिश्च पदानित्यलोभयते मृत्योः पदमित्यथैभ्योऽध्वर्यु र्दक्षिणतोऽश्मानं परिधिं दधाति इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामीति स्त्रीणामञ्जनिषु संपातानवनयतीमानारीरिति तैर्मुखानि मृजन्ते यदाञ्जनं त्रैककुदमिति त्रैककुदे

which many of the verses of the tenth Mandala quoted by you, are to be respectively cited as Mantras, you will at once see what you rightly guess—that the verse in question has nothing to do with the concremation of a Sati; it is directed to be chaunted on the tenth day after the burning of the dead, when the relatives of the deceased assemble on the Smasana to perform certain ceremonies, on the conclusion of which, the Adhwaryu takes butter with a new blade of kusa grass, or clarified butter between the thumb and ring finger, and applying it, as collyrium, to the eyes of Sadhavás, recites the seventh hymn in question, the moment they are directed to depart towards the east.

Now, as the text, which has been supposed to authorize Sahamarana, clearly appears to be appropriated to quite a different occasion, the argument based upon its interpretation proving it to discountenance concremation, necessarily falls to the ground.

The succeeding verses (to wit, the eighth and ninth), as I observed before, are enjoined to be addressed to the widow, lying on the funeral pile of her husband, and therefore have no relation with the seventh.

Had there been no explicit Vaidic injunction for Sahamarana, these passages, taken by themselves, would certainly have justified the conclusion that the Rigveda prohibits or ignores, by these texts, the

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नांजनेनांक्ते यदि चैककुदं नावगच्छेत् येनैव केनचिदाञ्जनेना ञ्जीरन् ॥ Bharadwája's Sútra, Prasna I, Khanda II.

उत्तरस्मादथाग्निमुपसमाधाय पश्चादस्थानडुहं चर्मास्तीर्य्य प्राङ् ग्रीवमुत्तरलोम तस्मिन्नमात्यादीनारोहयेदारोहतायुर्जरसंवृणाना इति इमं जीवेभ्यः परिधिं दधामीति परिधिं दध्यादन्नमृत्युं दधतां पर्वतेनित्यस्थानमुत्तरतो ऽग्नेः कृत्वा परं मृत्यो अनुपरेहि पन्थामित्यादि चतसृभिः प्रत्यृचं हुत्वा यथा हान्यनुपूर्व्वं भवन्तीत्यमात्यादीनीक्षेत। युवतयः पृथक् पाणिभ्यां दर्भतरुणकैर्नवनीतेनांगुष्ठोपकनिष्ठिकाभ्यामाज्येना क्षिणी आंज्य पराञ्चो विसृजेयुरिमा नारीरविधवाः सुपत्नी रिति अञ्जना ईक्षेत। अश्मन्वतीरिते संरभध्वमिति ॥ Aswalá-yana's Grihya Sútra, Adhyaya III.

self-immolation of a Sati, but when we find in the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, the Sati's address to Agni while throwing herself into it, and thus discover the Vaidic sanction for concremation, we must pause before we regard the eighth verse as an authority against this tragic act.

The Mimánsákára would argue thus,—"Where there are two authorities of a contradictory character, but of equal cogency, an alternative must be supposed to have been allowed[1]." The Sutrakáras, upon the Vaidic authorities above set forth, direct that the widow as well as the sacrificial utensils of the deceased Brahmana should be placed upon his funeral pile; but, as the widow has a will of her own, she cannot be disposed of like the inert utensils. The Rigveda therefore gives her the option of sacrificing herself or not, according as she may may not have her courage "screwed up to the sticking place."

When the Sati lies on the funeral pile, it is presumed[2] she is inclined to immolate herself, and the eighth verse is addressed to her, as the author of the Sahamaranavidhi explains, only to test her resolution, and to induce her to retire, if she be not sufficiently firm in her purpose. The necessity of giving her this option and trying her fortitude beforehand, appears the more strong, when we find it declared[3] that the Sati who becomes Chitabhrashtá, who retires from the funeral pile after the conclusion of the rites, commits a highly sinful act, although it admits of expiation by the performance of the Prájápatya.

Our personal observation of the actual practice when it prevailed in British India confirms this view; from the moment a Sati expressed her desire to follow her lord, up to the time she ascended the funeral pile, every persuasive language was used to induce her to continue in the family, and to discharge her proper duties there, and it was not until she was found inflexible that she was allowed to sacrifice himself, this was perfectly in keeping with the Udírshwa, &c., Mantra.

Thus the 8th verse of the Rigveda, above alluded to, appears to

---

[1] तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः ।

Gotama quoted by Kullukabhatta in his Com. on Manu, v. 14, B. 2, which see.

[2] Sáyana, when he says, in his Commentary on the 8th Rich; "Yasmát anusarana nischayam ákárshih tasmádágachchha," he takes the same view; he does not consider the burning as delayed, as may be supposed from a technical interpretation of the word "anusarana," because, as you say, subsequent burning is inconsistent with the presence of the corpse.

[3] चिताभ्रष्टा तु या नारी मोहादिचलिता भवेत् ।
प्राजापत्येन शुद्धेत् तु तस्माद्विपायकर्मणः ॥

be, in fact, a Sahamarana Mantra, though its interpretation, apart from other considerations, may, on a first view, seem to discountenance the practice.

A very strong presumption in support of the opinion, that Sahamarana rests upon Vaidic authority, arises from the circumstance of its having prevailed in India in very remote times, when Vaidic rites only were in vogue. On referring to the Mahábhárata, for instance, we find the widows of the heroes slain in the battle of Kurukshetra consuming themselves in the funeral fires of their husbands, when there lived great kings and sages imbued with Vaidic learning, and devoted to the observance of Vaidic rituals.

Nearly two thousand years ago Propertius describes the prevalence of this custom in India, in a passage of which the following is a translation by Boyses (see Brit. Poets, Chalmer's Ed., Vol. 14, p. 563):—

"Happy the laws that in those climes obtain,
Where the bright morning reddens all the main,
There, whenso'er the happy husband dies,
And on the funeral couch extended lies,
His faithful wives around the scene appear,
With pompous dress and a triumphant air;
For partnership in death, ambitious strive,
And dread the shameful fortune to survive!
Adorned with flowers the lovely victims stand,
With smiles ascend the pile, and light the brand!
Grasp their dear partners with unaltered faith,
And yield exulting to the fragrant death."

Cicero, also, who lived about the same time, mentions this fact in his Tusculum Questions. Herodotus speaks of a race of Thracians, whose women sacrificed themselves on the tombs of their husbands: these people, as well as the Getæ by whom this custom was also observed, were perhaps some tribe of degraded Kshetriyas.

You may, if you think it worth while, read this paper at the next meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

I remain,

My dear Dr. Wilson,

Yours sincerely,

RADHAKANT DEB.

CALCUTTA, 30*th June*, 1858.

Observations.

In disproving the genuineness of the citation of the passage which had been quoted as authority for the Sati, I confined my objections to the particular passage in question, and in this respect the Raja is obliged to admit, that I may be justified in coming to the conclusion, that the genuine reading rather discountenances than enjoins Sati. This was all I maintained. Of course I never intended to deny, that there were numerous texts in the Sútras and law-books, by which it was enjoined. I restricted my argument to the individual text quoted from the Rigveda, and with Raja Radhakant Deb's own concurrence, I have no occasion to modify the view I have taken, as limited to this object: the text of the Rigveda, that has been quoted as authority for the burning of the widow, is no such thing, "it rather discountenances than enjoined the practice." I have not expressed any opinion, whether any such injunction is to be found in any other part of the Sanhitá of the Rigveda, or of the Sanhitás of the White or Black Yajush, or the Sámaveda. That is quite a different question, although, as the topic is started by the Raja, I may venture to intimate an opinion, that the burning of a widow will not be found even alluded to in the genuine text, the Sanhitá, of either of the three principal Vedas. Whatever may be the antiquity of the rite, and that it is of long standing is not to be disputed, I suspect its origin is later than the Sanhitá, or primary Vedic period. I have now translated, although not yet published, nearly the whole of the Súktas, or hymns, the primitive portions of the Rigveda, and have yet found no notice of any such ceremony: the prohibition which would imply the existence of the rite, is matter of inference only; the direction, that the widow is to be led away from the proximity of her deceased husband, does not necessarily imply that she was to depart from his funeral pile, and there is no term, in the text, that indicates such a position.

In the course of my translation of the Rigveda, I have had a great number of occasions to refer to the printed texts of the Vájasaneyí Sanhitá, of the Yajur-veda, published by Professor Weber, of the Sámaveda printed by the late Mr. Stevenson and Professor Benfey, and I do not remember to have met with any allusion whatever in either of those works to the Sati ceremonial. There remains therefore only the Taittiríya Sanhitá of the Black Yajush to be examined: a part only of this has been printed by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in their Bibliotheca Indica, and, as far as it goes, the same absence of allusion to the Sati occurs: so far, therefore, I have reason to believe,

that the burning of widows was unknown to the Vedic period of Hindu ritual or belief.

That the Sútras of Aswalayána, Bharadwája, and other Sútrakáras contain Sútras, or rules, for the cremation, is indisputable, but all Vedic scholars agree in considering these works as of much more recent date than the Sanhitá, or text period; they, therefore, prove nothing, and of still less weight are the Sahamarana-vidhi or the Tatwas of Raghunandana, or other equally modern writings: the question is not whether there be any authorities at all for the practice, but whether such authority be discoverable in the original Vedic texts; there is no lack whatever of the former—I cannot yet positively deny, but I question the existence of the latter. To this Radhakant replies, "the most explicit (Vedic) authority is to be found in the two verses of the Aukhya Sákhá of the Taittiríya Sanhitá, quoted in the 84th anuváka of the Nárayaníya Upanishad," of which he gives the literal translation as well as of the comment; unfavourably for his argument, the authority is liable to obvious exceptions.

In the first place, the two verses are not cited direct from the text of the Taittiríya Sanhitá itself; they are a quotation of a quotation, and, as in the case of the passage of the Rigveda, which has given rise to this discussion, we know that quotations cannot always be trusted. The Pandits should have made a reference to the Taittiríya Sanhitá itself, and have given us chapter and verse for the passages; we should then be able to test their accuracy by collation with the printed text when complete. In the next place, the quotation occurs in an Upanishad, the Yajnikí, or Nárayaníya: the Upanishad period is of doubtful determination, because the Upanishads, which are numerous, one list enumerating above a hundred, are evidently of widely different dates, and not unfrequently of equivocal character. The Nárayaníya Upanishad is not altogether unexceptionable, for it constitutes the tenth Prapáthaka, or section, of what is usually considered a Bráhmana, the Taittiríya Aranyaka; Sáyana calls it even khilarupá, or of the nature of an additional or supplementary section, so that it is scarcely acknowledged to be a part of the original Aranyaka.

Upon referring to the manuscripts of the library of the India House, another difficulty arises; neither text nor comment consists of more than 64 anuvákas, whilst the verses quoted by Radhakant, are said to be taken from the 84th anuváka; consequently no such verses could be expected to be found in our copy, and accordingly they do not occur. Sáyana, however, observes, that different recensions do exist, of which the Drávira has 64 anuvákas, the Andhra, 80, the Karnáta 74, others 89. There may be a copy belonging to a different Sákhá,

the Aukhya for instance, of which we have no copy, with 84 anuvákas. Sáyana, however, avowedly follows the Drávira recension, containing only 64 anuvákas, the actual number of two copies consulted, and in which no such passages are met with; whence then do the Pandits derive their scholia of the 84th? it is for them to give a satifactory explanation. Therefore, as the matter stands, the verses cited, together with their commentary, wear a somewhat suspicious appearance, not the less observable that the different recensions specified are all named after the divisions of *Southern India*, where the Vedas did not penetrate probably till long after their compilation. Although, however, their authenticity be admitted, their occurring in an Upanishad, or even in a Bráhmana, is no proof that the Sanhitá of the Taittiríya Yajush contains them, or sanctions the burning of widows, or that the rite was cotemporary with the ritual of the Vedic period.

H. H. W.

Note on the supposed Discovery of the Principle of the Differential Calculus by an Indian Astronomer. By W. Spottiswoode, Esq. *Communicated by the Director.*

In the number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal last received, No. III., of 1858, is a short article by Bapu Deva Shastri, Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at the Government College of Benares, in which he has undertaken to show, that Bháskaráchárya, an astronomer who flourished at Ujjayin in the twelfth century, was fully acquainted with the principle of the Differential Calculus, one of the most important discoveries of the last century in Europe.

As this would have been a very remarkable circumstance in the history of astronomical science, it was obviously a matter of more than ordinary interest to have the accuracy of Professor Bapu Deva's statement carefully tested, and I therefore applied to our colleague, Mr. William Spottiswoode, who is well known as a mathematician, for his opinion; the answer with which he has favoured me will, I doubt not, be thought by the Society worthy of being communicated to the public through our Journal, especially as, whilst it shows that Bapu Deva's statement is not correct to its whole extent, yet it does full justice to Bháskaráchárya's penetration and science, and acknowledges that his calculations bear a very remarkable analogy to the corresponding processes in modern mathematical astronomy.

12, James Street, Buckingham Gate,
London, May 5, 1859.

My Dear Mr. Wilson,

I have read Bapu Deva Shastri's letter on Bháskaráchárya's mode of determining the instantaneous motion of a planet, with great interest, and think that we are much indebted to him for calling our attention to so important an element in the old Indian methods of calculation. It still, however, seems to me, that he has overstated the case, in saying that "Bháskaráchárya was fully acquainted with the principle of the Differential Calculus." He has undoubtedly conceived the idea of comparing the successive positions of a planet in

its path, and of regarding its motion as constant during the interval, and he may be said to have had some rudimentary notion of representing the arc of a curve by means of auxiliary straight lines. But on the other hand, in the method here given, he makes no allusion to one of the most essential features of the Differential Calculus, viz., the infinitesimal magnitude of the intervals of time and space therein employed. Nor indeed is anything specifically said about the fact that the method is an approximative one.

Nevertheless, with these reservations, it must be admitted, that the penetration shown by Bhaskara, in his analysis, is in the highest degree remarkable; that the formula which he establishes (equation 3, p. 216), and his method of establishing it, bear more than a mere resemblance—they bear a strong analogy—to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy; and that the majority of scientific persons will learn with surprise the existence of such a method in the writings of so distant a period and so remote a region.

With many thanks for communicating the paper to me,

I remain, very sincerely yours,

H. H. Wilson, Esq. W. SPOTTISWOODE.

P.S. I may perhaps add, that if—

x, x' be the mean longitudes,

y, y' be the mean anomalies,

u, u' be the true anomalies

of a planet on two successive days; and a the excentricity, or sine of the greatest equation of the orbit; then $(u' - u)$, or the true motion of the planet,

$$= x' - x \; a \pm (\text{sin. } y' - \text{sin. } y).$$

And Bhaskara's method consists in showing, that the "instantaneous" value of sin. $y' -$ sin. y (or the value which it would have if the velocity of the planet had remained uniform during the day) is $(y' - y)$ cos. y. His formula therefore becomes—

$$u' - u = x' - x \pm (y' - y) \; a \text{ cos. } y.$$

And the corresponding formula in modern analysis is—

$$du = d(x \pm a \text{ sin. } y)$$
$$= dx \pm a \text{ cos. } y \, dy.$$

W. S.

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THE RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS OF THE HINDUS.

BY

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON,

DIRECTOR R. A. S.

THE RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS OF THE HINDUS.

AMONG all the nations of the ancient world, a considerable portion of the year was devoted to the solemnization of public festivals, at which the people found in the assemblage of multitudes, in the exhibition of games, and in religious pageants and ceremonies, a compensation for the want of those more refined entertainments which are created by the necessities and the luxury of a more advanced stage of civilization. Some of these primitive celebrations have retained their hold upon national tastes and feelings long after their origin and meaning were forgotten, and become interwoven with new conditions of society, with altered manners and institutions, and with a total change of religion. In all the countries of Europe they have left at least traces of their former prevalence in the nomenclature of our calendars, and many of the holidays which are appropriated to the saints of the Christian Church have been borrowed from the public festivals of ancient paganism. In proportion also as nations, or as different classes of the same nation, retain their primitive habits, the observances of olden times enjoy their veneration, and interest their affections. They are, however, fast fading in the Western world, even from the faith of tradition, before the extension of knowledge and refinement, and before the augmented demands for toil which the present artificial modes of life impose, when holidays are denounced as an unprofitable interruption of productive industry, and a festival or a fair is condemned as a wasteful expenditure of time and money. It is only, therefore, in regions remote from the reach of the task-master, where exemption from work is occasionally the equal right of all classes of the community, that we may expect to find the red letters of the Calendar significant signs—importing what they designate—public holidays—days on which the artificer and the peasant rest from physical exertion, and spend some passing hours in a kindly communion of idleness with their fellows, in which, if the plough stands still and the anvil is silent, the spirit of social intercourse is kept alive, and man is allowed to feel that he was born for some nobler end than to earn the scanty bread of the pauper, by the unrelaxing labour of the slave.

It is in the remote East, and especially in India, that we may expect to find the living representation of ancient observances, and the still existing solemnizations which delighted the nations of

antiquity, and we shall not be altogether disappointed; although even here they begin to languish under the influence of a foreign government, under the unsympathizing superiority which looks upon the enjoyments of a different race with disdain, under the prevalence of the doctrine which regards public holidays as deductions from public wealth, and under the principles of a system of religious faith which, although it might be indulgent to popular recreations, cannot withhold its disapprobation of them when their objects and origin are connected with falsehood and superstition. From the operation of these causes, the Hindu festivals have already diminished both in frequency and in attraction; and they may become, in the course of time, as little familiar to the people of India as those of European institution are to the nations of the West. They will then, perhaps, become also objects of curiosity and interest; and in anticipation of that period, and in order to secure an account of them whilst it is still possible to learn what they are, I propose to offer to the Society some notices of the religious Fasti of the Hindus and Calendar of their public festivals.

The different celebrations of the Hindus are specified in the Almanacs, and are described at length in different works, such as the Tithi Tatwa, Tithi Kritya, Vratárka, Kála Nirńaya, the Kalpa Ru of Jaya Sinha, and others, and also in passages of several o Puráńas, particularly in the Bhavishyottara, which, as it u occurs, treats exclusively of the festivals. The observances a the most part, the same in the different provinces of India, bu are some peculiar to peculiar localities; and even those wh universally held, enjoy various degrees of popularity in different p and are celebrated with various local modifications. The periods vary within certain limits, according as the lunar month is reckoned to begin from the new moon, or from the full moon; the former mode of computation prevailing in Bengal and in Telingana, whilst in Hindustan and in the Tamil countries of the South the latter is followed. My opportunities of personal observation have been in a great degree limited to Bengal, and for the rest of India I can speak but imperfectly of any existing practices which may not exactly conform to those enjoined by original works, or of which no account has been published by actual observers. One object of communicating these notices to the Society is, therefore, the supplying of this deficiency. Amongst the Members of the Society are many who, in the course of their public services, must have witnessed the celebration of the Hindu festivals in different and distant places: their better knowledge will enable them to furnish correct information respecting

those local peculiarities with which I am unacquainted; and I hope that they may be induced to favour the Society with the results of their experience, and contribute to render the description of the popular festivals of the Hindus as complete and authentic as those who may take an interest in the topic have a right to expect from us.

Upon examining the Fasti of the nations of antiquity, it is obvious that many of their festivals originated either from the same or similar motives. They all bear a religious character, inasmuch as religious worship formed part of the celebration; but that was the spirit of the time. However erroneously directed, the feelings of the multitude in the heathen world associated the powers of heaven, real or imaginary, with all their transactions; but the sources to which I more especially refer, however closely linked with this common sentiment, are in some degree varieties of it: they constitute the species, and are obviously reducible to two principal distinctions, which may be regarded as universal or particular. The universal festivals, which are probably traceable among all nations elevated above barbarism, and which may have been handed down by tradition from the earliest periods in the history of the human race, are manifestly astronomical, and are intended to commemorate the revolutions of the planets, the alternations of the seasons, and the recurrence of cyclical intervals of longer or shorter duration. The particular festivals are those arising out of national forms of religious worship, out of different mythological creations of priests or poets, or out of imperfect narratives, transmitted orally through succeeding generations, of occurrences anterior to historical record. In as far as these traditions may have related to the great mass of mankind, before it was broken up into detached communities, or as the mythological fictions may typify real personages or events of the same era, or may embody objects likely to be presented to the imaginations of men under similar aspects, we need not be surprised to meet with analogies of deep interest, even in the festivals which are of particular institution. It is, however, in those which relate to the course of time and the phenomena of the planetary sphere that analogies are most likely to occur, and do, in fact, present themselves in the practices of distant and apparently unconnected races.

The coincidences that may be discovered between the universal or particular festivals of the various nations of antiquity, form a subject that well deserves careful and patient investigation. It would, in all probability, tend to confirm the remarkable results which comparative philology has of late so unanswerably demonstrated, and furnish cor-

roborative testimony of that relationship of races, which, however dissimilar now, in physical configuration, social condition, and national character, are proved to be of kindred origin by the unequivocal affinities of language. In like manner as the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic, Slavonic, and Sanskrit tongues have been shown to be allied by principles common to them all, so in all probability it would be found that the festivals and holidays which once animated the cities of Athens and Rome, the forests of Germany and the steppes of Russia, are still continuing to afford seasons of public recreation to the dark complexioned tribes that people the borders of the Indus and the Ganges. The full development of these identifications is, however, a work of time and of research exceeding what I can bestow upon it; and I must be content with contributing only that portion of the materials requisite for its investigation which relates to the Fasti of the Hindus, briefly suggesting, as I proceed, one or two of the most obvious points of apparent similarity.

The subject of the Festivals of the Hindu year was introduced to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones, who published a paper on it in the third volume of the Researches. What he thought of the inquiry is evident from the manner in which he speaks of the authority whence his information was derived, and which he calls a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated Raghunandana. It was no doubt his Tithi Tatwa, a standard text-book, as are all the works of the same author, in Bengal. Sir William Jones, however, has taken from this work only the heads of the descriptions, and omits all the particulars into which it enters, with the exception of a few brief notes; and his details are neither sufficiently full nor interesting to inspire others with the sentiments with which he contemplated the subject. Some years ago I collected materials for its fuller elucidation, and published in one of the Calcutta papers brief notices of the festivals as they occurred; but the notices were merely popular, and were necessarily short and unconnected, and they have never been presented in a collective form. The topic is one, therefore, which, if destitute of other recommendation, possesses, even in these latter days, that of some degree of novelty, and may on this account be further acceptable to the Society.

As remarked by Sir William Jones, although most of the Indian fasts and festivals are regulated by the days of the moon, yet the most solemn and remarkable of them have a manifest reference to the supposed motions of the sun. An attempt is usually made to adjust the one to the other; but the principles on which the adjustment of the solar to the lunar year is based, are of a somewhat complicated character,

and are not essential to a knowledge of the periods at which the festivals are held, and which, with a few exceptions, are sufficiently determinate. They will be specified as we proceed.

UTTARA'YAN'A.—*First of (solar month) Mágha, first lunation dark half or Moon's wane of Pausha or Mágha, 12th-13th of January.*—The Roman poet Ovid, in the opening of his "Fasti," inquires of Janus why the new year is considered to begin in January instead of April, in winter instead of spring; as the latter is the true season of the renovation of nature, when flowers bud, birds carol, and animals rejoice.

> Die, age, frigoribus quare novus incipit annus,
> Qui melius per ver incipiendus erat—
> Omnia tunc florent: tunc est nova temporis ætas.

The same question seems to have suggested itself to the reformers of the Hindu calendar, and accordingly the new year of the luni-solar computation now in use begins with the first of Chaitra, which falls somewhere in the course of March, and in solar reckoning is said to agree with the entrance of the sun into the sign Mesha, or Aries. There was, however, a period at which a different principle was followed[1], and one that coincides with the peculiarity that puzzled the poet; the new year then commenced on the first of the solar month Mágha, the date of the Makara-Sankránti, or sun's entrance into the sign Capricornus[2], identical with the Uttaráyaña, or return of that luminary to the regions of the North, or, in fact, to the winter solstice; a very important era to the nations north of the equator, amongst whom no doubt were the primitive Hindus, as bringing back to them the genial warmth of the sun and the resuscitation of vegetable life, and deservedly, therefore, held to be the beginning of a new year.

The Uttaráyaña, or winter solstice, although no longer considered as occurring on the first day of the year, and which, even in olden times, as we shall see, was thrown back a fortnight, to the first of the light half of Pausha, retains the veneration attached to it originally as the renovator of animal and vegetable existence, and is one of the great festivals of the Hindus. It commences, as in our own calendars, with

[1] According to Bentley, this was 1181 B.C.

[2] The term Makara denotes an aquatic non-descript animal: the more ancient name of the sign seems to have been Mriga, a deer मृगकर्कटसङ्क्रान्ती ते "The two Sankrántis, the deer and the crab."—Tithi Tatwa. The same work explains the application of the term, the type of the constellation having the head, not of a goat, but of a deer मृगो मृगास्यत्वेन मकरः

the entrance of the sun into the sign Capricornus; but, although the astronomical period is the same, the actual dates present a considerable deviation. According to our Ephemerides, the sun enters Capricorn on the 21st of December; according to those of the Hindus, on the 1st of their solar month Mágha; and this, in actual practice, is identified with the 12th of January or thereabouts. I have already observed that the adjustments of the Hindu calendar are very difficult matters to deal with, and an explanation of the difference between the 21st of December and the 12th of January is to be found only in astronomical calculations. Thus, Colonel Warren observes, the dates of the equinoctial and solstitial points, as far as they are regulated by the solar and lunar moveable zodiac, are fixed, but their relation to the sidereal zodiac depends upon the precessional variation[1]. For our present purpose, however, it is sufficient to know that the essential elements of the celebration are the Makara Sankránti, or sun's entrance into Capricorn; the Uttaráyana, or commencement of the sun's return to a northern declination; and the actual observance on the 1st of the luni-solar month Mágha falling on the 12th of January, or occasionally a day before or after it.

The observances enjoined on this occasion are partly of a private, partly of a public character. The first consist of offerings to the Pitris, or progenitors, whether general, as of all mankind; or special, as of the family of the worshipper; to the Vástu devas, the Dii Lares, or domestic gemi; the guardians of the dwelling, or the site on which it is erected; and to the Viswa devas, or universal gods. The ceremonies addressed to all these are performed within the abode of the householder, and are conducted by the family priest. The principal article of the offering is tila, or sesamum seeds, either separately, or, as is more usual, mixed with molasses, or the saccharine juice of the fruit of the date-tree, and made up into a kind of sweetmeat, called Tilúa. Pishtakas or cakes also are offered, composed of ground rice, mixed with sugar and ghee; whence the festival has the denominations of Tilúa Sankránti and Pishtaka Sankránti, the solar conjunction of the sweetmeat or the cake.

The good things prepared on this occasion are not intended exclusively for those imaginary beings who are unable to eat them. They are presented merely for the purpose of consecration, and that they may be eaten with greater zest by the householder and his family; nor is that all, for a portion of them is sent to friends and relations, as memorials of regard, inclosed in fine linen, silk, or velvet.

[1] Kála Sankalita, p. 4, note.

according to the means of the presenter, and the station of those to whom they are presented.

In many places in Bengal a curious practice is observed, called Báwanni bandhana, particularly by the females of the family. In the evening, one of the women takes a wisp of straw, and from the bundle picks out separate straws, which she ties singly to every article of furniture in the house, exclaiming "Báwanni pauti," implying, may the measure of corn be increased fifty-two fold,—panti denoting a measure of grain. In the villages similar straws are attached to the Golas, or thatched granaries, in which the grain of the preceding harvest has been stored.

Besides these private ceremonies, which expressively typify the feelings of satisfaction with which the re-approach of the sun was hailed by a people to whom the principal phenomena of the heavens were familiar, there are also public celebrations of the same event, expressing similar sentiments, but deriving a more local and peculiar complexion from the physical circumstances of the country, and the superstitions of its inhabitants.

According to the Kalpa Druma of Jayasinha, upon the authority of the Padma Puráńa, the whole month of Mágha is especially consecrated to Vishńu, to whom and to the Sun also prayers should be daily addressed, and offerings or arghyas presented. The introduction of Vishńu is a modern interpolation[1]. The same work prescribes daily bathing before sunrise. The Bhavishyottara also directs daily bathing in Mágha, with mantras or prayers by the three first classes, silently by Súdras and women, and affirms that the practice is enjoined by the Vedas, a rather questionable assertion. The same may be said of the Vaishńava formula, given by Raghunandana; according to whom the person performing his ablutions is to invoke various personifications of Vishńu. Thus the Sankalpa, or previous prayer, is, "By this bathing, when the sun is in Makara, be thou, oh Mágha, oh Govinda, oh Achyuta, oh Mádhava, oh God, the giver of the promised reward to me." He is then to bathe, calling to mind Vásudeva, Hari, Krishńa, Śridhara, and to say, "Salutation be to thee, oh Sun, lord of the world, giver of light, do thou make perfect this great worship, this bathing in Mágha."

Whatever may be the date of this mixture of tenets, the ablution is no doubt an ancient portion of the rite. Bathing in sacred streams constitutes an indispensable part of most of the ceremonial observances

[1] The ablution is to be preceded by a fast and followed by a feast and gifts to Brahmans. पूर्वेद्यु व्रतादिकं कुर्यात् परेद्युः स्नानदानयोः Tithi T.

of the Hindus; and where such rivers are not within access, their place is supplied by other pieces of water of less lofty pretensions; a dirty puddle may take the place of the holy Gangá. At the winter solstice, bathing at the confluence of the Ganges with the ocean is particularly meritorious, and accordingly a vast concourse of people is annually assembled at Ganga Ságar, or the mouth of the Hugli branch of the Ganges, at the period of the Makara Sankránti, agreeably to the limitations above assigned to it; that is, its identification with the 1st of Mágha or the 12th of January. Wherever such assemblages take place, objects of a secular nature are now, as they have ever been, blended with those of devotion; and the Mela, which originates in purposes of pilgrimage, becomes equally or in a still greater degree a meeting of itinerant merchants, or a fair.

The number of persons who assemble at Ganga Ságar is variously estimated. Some years ago they were considered to average about one hundred thousand; but I have been informed by high authority that latterly the number has increased to double that amount. They come from all parts of India, the larger proportion, of course, from the contiguous provinces of Bengal and Orissa; but there are many from the Dekhin and from Hindustan, and even from Nepal and the Panjab. They are of both sexes and of all ages; many come with small pedlery for petty traffic; many from idleness or a propensity to a vagrant life, not uncommon in India; and there is a very large proportion of religious mendicants of all sects. The Saivas usually predominate.

The place at which the Mela is held is, or perhaps it were more safe to say, was, some years ago, a sand bank, on the southern shore of the island of Ságar, immediately to the west of the inlet called Pagoda Creek, from a small pagoda or temple also on the west of the creek, nearer to the sea than the bank of sand, and separated from the latter by a smaller creek running inland. South from this to the sea-shore, extended a thick jungle, with a pathway leading into the interior, where was a large tank for the supply of the people with fresh water. Tigers lurked in the jungle, and not unfrequently carried off the pilgrims. Along the sea-side, for more than a mile, extended rows of booths, shops, and small temporary temples, with the travelling gods of the religious mendicants, who received the adoration and contributions of the pious. Besides the numerous shops for the supply of provisions and sweetmeats, a brisk traffic was carried on in small wares, especially in betel-nuts, black pepper, and the red powder that is scattered about at the vernal festival of the Hull. A Pandit in my employ, who had visited the Mela, asserted that an impost was levied by the custom officers of Government, of four anas per oar on each boat;

but no such charge appears to have been authorized, except in the case of the Ságar Island Society, who were permitted to make some such charge in consideration of the clearings and tanks made by them. The mendicants, however, petitioned against this privilege, and it was withdrawn from the Society. The petition was not disinterested, as the Sanyásis claimed a right to levy the charge on their own account, a practice that seems to have grown up from long use, and to have been silently acquiesced in by the pilgrims. The total amount was inconsiderable, having been farmed by a native contractor from the Society, whilst in their possession, for 1200 rupees in the first year, and 2000 in the second.

The Mela lasts several days, but three days are the limit of the religious festival. The first ceremony is the propitiation of the ocean, by casting into it various offerings, with short ejaculatory prayers; the oblations are commonly cocoa-nuts, fruits, or flowers, the most appropriate gift is that of the five gems, Pancha ratna, consisting of a pearl or diamond, an emerald, a topaz, and a piece of coral, along with a cocoa-nut, an areca-nut, and the thread worn by Brahmans. These are wrapped up in a cloth, and cast into the branch of the river which communicates with the sea, at a place called Bhola Saunders, and also at the confluence. The jewels are, in general, of the smaller size, not worth more than a rupee or two. There was a time when the offerings were of a less innocent description, and children were cast into the sea. This horrible and unnatural practice was wholly unsanctioned by anything in the Hindu ritual; and its suppression, by the Government of Bengal, had the cordial concurrence of the Brahmans. The act was not like the oblation of fruits or jewels, intended to obtain the favour of the deified ocean, but in satisfaction of a vow; as where a woman had been childless, she made a vow to offer her first-born at Gangá Ságur, or some other holy place, in the confidence that such an offering would secure for her additional progeny. The belief is not without a parallel in the history of antiquity, sacred or profane, but it was the spontaneous growth of ignorance and superstition, not only unprompted, but condemned by the Hindu religion, and was confined to the lowest orders of the people. It will easily be credited, that the occurrence was rare, and that no attempt has ever been made to infringe the prohibition.

On the first day, bathing in the sea is to be performed; it takes place early in the morning, and is repeated by some at noon; some also have their heads shaved after bathing; and many of those whose parents are recently deceased celebrate their Sráddha, or obsequial ceremonies on the sea-shore. After ablution, the pilgrims repair to

the temple, which is dedicated to a Muni, or divine sage, an incarnation of Vishńu, named Ḳapila. Vishńu became incarnate in his person for the destruction of the sixty thousand wicked sons of King Sagara. He is said to have stationed himself at this place, which was then upon the brink of a vast chasm, leading to the infernal regions. When the sons of the king, who were in search of a horse intended for the solemn sacrifice of the Aswamedha, arrived here, they found the Muni absorbed apparently in meditation, while the steed was grazing near him. Accusing him of having stolen it, they approached to kill him, when fire flashed from his eyes, and instantly reduced the whole troop to ashes. In order to expiate their crime, purify their remains, and secure paradise for their spirits, Bhagíratha, the great-grandson of Sagara, brought down by the force of his austerities, the Ganges from heaven; and led her from the Himalaya, where she had alighted, to this spot. The sons of Sagara were sanctified, and the waters of the river, flowing into the chasm, formed the ocean. The Ganges is called Bhágírathí, from King Bhagíratha; and the sea is termed Ságara, after his great grandsire. The legend is told, in its most ancient and authentic shape, in the Rámáyańa.

The temple of Kapila is under the alternate charge of a Bairágí and Sanyási, mendicants of the Vaishnava and Saiva sects; the latter presides at the Mela held at this place in the month Kártik, the former at the Mela of Mágha. They exact a fee of four anas from each person who comes to the temple. The aggregate collection of Mágha was divided amongst five different establishments of mendicants of the Rámánandi order, in the vicinity of Calcutta. In front of the temple was a Bur tree, beneath which were images of Ráma and Hanumán; and an image of Kapila, of the size nearly of life, was within the temple. The pilgims commonly write their names on the walls of the temple, with a short prayer to Kapila; or suspend a piece of earth or brick to a bough of the tree, with some solicitation, as for health, or affluence, or offspring; and promise, if their prayers are granted, to make a gift to some divinity.

Behind the temple was a small excavation termed Sítá kund, filled with fresh water, of which the pilgrim was allowed to sip a small quantity, on paying a fee to the mahant or head manager of the temple. This reservoir was probably filled from the tank, and kept full by the contrivances of the mendicants, who persuaded the people that it was a perpetual miracle, being constantly full for the use of the temple.

On the second and third days of the assemblage, bathing in the sea, adoration of Gangá, and the worship of Kapila, continue as on

the first; after which the meeting breaks up. During the whole time the pilgrims, for the most part, sleep on the sand; for it is considered unbecoming to sleep on board their boats.

This is the great public celebration of the recurrence of the winter solstice in Upper India. In the south there is an equally popular commemoration of the same event, but of which the ceremonies are peculiar, consisting principally of marks of public reverence for cattle, but comprehending also the preparation and distribution of food; whence, indeed, its appropriate appellation, in the Tamil language, Pongol, which, according to native authority, Tiruvakádu Mutia, signifies literally boiled rice, and metaphorically, prosperity or rejoicing[1]. The word is therefore another denomination of the festival of the Makara Sankránti, or sun's entrance into Capricorn; or, in the words of the same writer, the first day of the Indian January, corresponding, agreeably to the mode of computation followed in the Dekhin, with the 1st of Tye or Taishya, the Paushya of Hindustan, which, (as in the latter,) falls about the 12th of January. The following particulars of the festival are from a paper, published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807, by the intelligent native already named, Tiruvakádu Mutia.

"On the day on which the sun enters Capricorn, which is the beginning of the auspicious period of the Uttaráyaṅa, the Hindus offer libations of water, mixed with tila and kusa, or sesamum seeds and sacred grass, to the manes of their ancestors. They then boil rice with milk and sugar; and when they see it bubble up, they cry aloud 'Pongal, O pongal!' meaning, Let the world be prosperous and rejoice. The boiled rice, along with esculent fruits, is offered to the sun, invoking him for the general good, and the production of abundance. Early the next morning, the husbandmen sprinkle water upon corn sown or grown in fields, crying aloud, 'Pongal, pongal!' meaning, Let the corn grow in plenty, by the grace of the glorious sun, who has begun his northern course (the Uttaráyaṅa), which is a day of the gods. At noon rice and milk are again boiled, and are presented to Indra, praying him to bestow abundant rain, and by thus favouring pasture, cause cattle to increase and multiply. In the afternoon, cows and bulls are washed, and fed with part of an oblation first offered to Indra; and being also painted and adorned with leafy and flowery chaplets, are brought in herds, attended by bands of music, to the public place of the village; there the cow-keepers dress victuals, and

[1] Pongali, according to Rottler, Tam. Dict., means "a bubbling up;" in Telugu, it denotes a dish of rice mixed with boiled milk and sugar and other articles.—Campbell, Tel. Dict.

provide fresh perfumes and flowers, wherewith to decorate their animals; and sprinkle saffron water with mango leaves upon them, as a preservative from evil, crying aloud, 'Pongal, pongal!' meaning, Let cattle be cherished and multiplied, by the grace of Indra, as well as of Gopála (or Krishńa the cow-herd). Then the Hindus, with joined hands, are to walk round the cows and bulls, and particularly round the Brahmans, and to prostrate themselves before them. This done, the cow-keepers, with their herds of kine and oxen, return home to their several houses[1]. Hence this day is termed Matu Pongal; that is, the feast of cattle."

"So the day of the Makara Sankránti, or Perum Pongol, is dedicated to the sun, and the day of Matu Pongol to Indra; they are both comprised in the term Pongol, which is an anniversary festival of a week's duration. During this term the Hindus visit and compliment each other, wishing a happy pongal or many returns of it. Sons and daughters prostrate themselves before their parents, servants before their masters, disciples before their teachers. Some people give alms to the poor, some make presents to their friends and relations, some sport and amuse themselves with diversions of different kinds. This ceremony is said to be a practice of very ancient standing, which the former kings of Madura, of the Páńdya dynasty, introduced upon the authority of the Sástras and Puráńas[2]."

There can be no doubt that the remark of Mutiá, that the observance of the Uttaráyańa is a practice of high antiquity, is perfectly true; and there can be equally little doubt that it was of like univer-

[1] The Abbé Dubois adds the following particulars of this part of the ceremony. "On peint de diverses couleurs les cornes des vaches et on leur met au cou une guirlande de feuillages verts entremêlés de fleurs à laquelle on suspend des gateaux, des cocos, et autres fruits, qui se détachant bientôt par le mouvement de ces animaux sont ramassés et mangés avec empressement par ceux qui les suivent. Après avoir conduit les vaches en troupe hors de la ville ou du village, on les force à s'enfuir de coté et d'autre en les effarouchant par le bruit confus d'un grand nombre de tambours et d'instrumens bruyans. Ce jour là ces bêtes peuvent paître par tout sans gardien, et quelques dégats qu'elles fassent dans les champs où elles se jettent, il n'est pas permis de les en chasser."—II., 337.

[2] This authority acknowledges, therefore, a principal festival of but two days, but we have that of the Madras calendar for three; the first being called the Bhoga Páńdikei, the second the Pongal, and the third the Matu (or cattle) Pongal. So the Abbé Dubois, "La fête dure trois jours;" the first of which is called Bhoga Pongal (pongol de la joie, from Bhoga, enjoyment), the second Surya Pongal (pongol du soleil), and the third the Pongol des vaches.—2, 335. In Rottler's Tamil Dict. we have the three days; the first Pongi-pandikei, dedicated, it is said, to Indra; the second Perum pongol, sacred to the sun; and the third the Mátu pongol, sacred to Krishn'a.

sality amongst, at least, the Indo-Teutonic races. The analogies are so obvious, that they must instantly occur to every one's mind; and the offerings and distribution of food and sweetmeats and presents, the sports and the rejoicing, and the interchange of mutual good wishes, which characterize the Uttaráyaña amongst the Hindus, are even yet, though to a less extent than heretofore, retained by Christian nations at the same season; beginning with the plum-puddings and mince-pies of Christmas, passing through the new year's gifts and happy new years; the strenæ of the Romans, quæ omnia simul strenas appellarunt; and terminating with Twelfth-night. Whatever modifications these types of rejoicing may have undergone, and however changed in their present purport, by their connexion with our religious faith, they are evidently of the same general character as the observances of the Hindus; and designate the commencement of a period, in which the northern hemisphere is again to be gladdened, by the proximity of the fountain of light and heat.

In looking for the more striking points of coincidence between the observances of the East and West at this particular season, it is not necessary to be restricted to dates, beyond approximate limits. Our own calendar has been subjected to different reforms, which have, even within a recent term, advanced, by twelve days, the enumeration of the days of the month; and alterations of an astronomical nature have also been alluded to, which may perhaps explain further deviations in this respect. The main point of agreement is unaffected. It is not the recurrence of any precise day of the week or month that constitutes the occasion of the celebration; it is the recurrence of the commencement of the sun's northward course, the Uttaráyaña, or winter solstice, from which all the manifestations of gladness derive their origin; and whether this be fixed accurately or inaccurately—whether the period at which the phenomenon was first noticed has in the course of ages undergone a change—is immaterial. Little doubt can be entertained that the same event gave rise to the same feelings; and that they have been expressed by actions, varying in form, but not in spirit, by very distant nations, through a very long succession of the generations of mankind.

It has already been seen that the Romans connected the beginning of the year with the sun's entrance into Capricorn, and that they then celebrated the renovation of nature. Their mode of celebrating it seems to have had many things in common with the usages of the Hindus, particularly in the interchange of sweetmeats; only substituting for the rice, cakes, and molasses of the Hindus, figs, dates, and

honey. These articles they sent, at this season, to their friends and relations: they were intended, according to Janus, to be ominous of an agreeable year to follow.

Omen ait, causa est ut res sapor ille sequatur,
Et peragat cœptum dulcis ut annus iter.

They also interchanged læta verba, good wishes and congratulations;—et damus alternas accipimusque preces. The presents made at this season were called strenæ; and the word, as well as the practice, subsists in the Etrennes of new year's day in France. Strenam vocamus quæ datur die religioso ominis boni gratiâ. According to Festus, the practice is referred by Symmachus to an early period of Roman history, the reign of Tatius; but it was no doubt much older. How far it prevailed among the Greeks does not fully appear. The Greeks had a festival in the month Poseideôn, or January, in which they worshipped Neptune, or the Sea, in like manner as the Hindus worship the ocean; but no other particulars are recorded; and it is remarkable how little of the Greek calendar is of an astronomical origin. It is almost entirely legendary and mythological, arguing a people shut up by themselves in very ancient times, and comparatively late in their observations of planetary phenomena. However, it would seem that the sending of good things to one another was not limited to the Romans, as it is said that the Fathers of the Church rigorously condemned the observances of this season, not because of the exchange of civil missives and mutual pledges of regard, but because of the idolatrous worship. "In calendas Januarii antiqui patres vehementius invehebantur, non propter istas missitationes adinvicem et mutui amoris pignora, sed propter diem idolis dicatum."—Montacut. Orig. Eccles. pars prior, p. 128. As the "Fathers" are named so generally, it may be inferred that the observances which they condemned were known wherever the primitive church was established.

The Christmas and new year's festivities which have left traces amongst the Teutonic nations, were tranferred to them from their German forefathers, in the time of Paganism. Thus Bede observes of the Anglo-Saxons, "they began their year on the eighth of the calends of January, which is now our Christmas-day." So the yule clog, log or block, which was burnt on the eve of Christmas-day, is considered to have been used as an emblem of the return of the sun, and the lengthening of the days; for according to Bede, both December and January were denominated Giuli or Yule, upon account of the sun's returning and augmenting the duration of the days: "December Giuli—eodem quo Januarius nomine vocatur. Giuli a conversione solis in auctum diei nomen accepit."—Beda de Ratione Temporum. Again,

Bishop Stillingfleet states, in his Origines Britannicæ, "that the ancient Saxons observed twelve days at this period, and sacrificed to the sun." And Mallet states, "that all the Celtic nations worshipped the sun, and celebrated his festival at the winter solstice, to testify their joy at his return to the northern sky. This was the greatest solemnity in the year."—North. Ant. 2, 68. Identifications too palpable to be denied, with the Uttaráyaṅa of the Hindus, and the worship by them also of the sun, at the same season, and on the same account. A like analogy may be suspected in the Yule dough, or cakes of flour and water, which, after the introduction of Christianity, were kneaded into little images; but were originally, in all probability, nothing more than the rice cakes of the Hindus. The extension of the period of festivity, so as to include the new year, brings us also to the interchange of presents and good wishes which, amongst the Saxons, as well as the Romans and Hindus, was thought peculiarly appropriate at this season.

Mention is made by Mr. Brand, to whose work on Popular Antiquities I am indebted for most of the preceding statements, that it was enjoined in the ancient Calendar of the Roman church, to present on Christmas eve, sweetmeats to the Fathers, "In Vaticano dulcia patribus exhibentur." Of course the Fathers of the Christian church are intended; but it is scarcely possible to avoid a suspicion that something was originally meant, that the practice was, in fact, a relique of heathenism, and that the "Fathers" were in their primitive character, the Dii Manes of the Romans, the Pitris of the Hindus.

Whatever may be thought of this coincidence, there can scarcely be a doubt that we have some community of origin between the Pongal and the blessing of the cattle at Rome, on the day dedicated to St. Anthony. According to the legend, the Saint once tended a herd of swine, and hence possibly his connexion with other animals. A much more intelligible relation subsists between them and the Hindu Indra, or Jupiter pluvius, as provender is plentiful and nutritive in proportion as rain is abundant. The following account of this ceremony is taken from "Rome in the Nineteenth Century," and it will be observed that the time of the year, the decorating of the cattle, the bringing them to a public place, the sprinkling of them with holy water, and the very purport of the blessing, that they may be exempt from evils, are so decidedly Indian, that could a Drávira Brahman be set down of a sudden in the Piazza, before St. Mary's church at Rome, and were asked what ceremony he witnessed, there can be no doubt of his answer; he would at once declare they were celebrating the Pongal.

January 18th, 1819.—We were present to-day at one of the most ridiculous scenes I ever witnessed, even in this country. It was St. Anthony's blessing of the horses, which begins on that Saint's day and lasts for a week. We drove to the church of the Saint, near the Santa Maria Maggiore, and could scarcely make our way through the streets, from the multitudes of horses, mules, asses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and dogs, which were journeying along to the place of benediction; their heads, tails, and necks decorated with bits of coloured ribbon, on this their unconscious gala-day. The Saint's benediction, though nominally confined to horses, is equally efficacious and equally bestowed upon all quadrupeds. The priest stood at the door of the church, holding a brush in his hand, which he continually dipped into a large bucket of holy water, and spirted at the animals as they came in unremitting succession, taking off his little skull cap and muttering every time, 'Per intercessionem Sancti Antonii abbatis hæc animalia liberantur a malis.' "

There can be no doubt that this ceremony is much older than St. Anthony, and it probably is a relique of the Latin village festival of the Paganalia or the Feriæ Sementinæ, which took place about the middle of January, when, after the seed had been sown, the ploughs were laid up in ordinary, and the cattle were decorated with garlands.

——— nunc ad præsepia debent,
Plena coronato stare boves capite.—Tib. lib. xi., El. i., l. 8.

A palpable relique of which rite is also traceable in the Plough Monday of our calendar (13th January), and the games with which it was celebrated.

The long course of ages which has elapsed has necessarily impaired the evidence of a perfect concordance between the ceremonies with which the nations of antiquity commemorated the sun's northern journey; yet no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they did agree in celebrating that event with practices, if not precisely the same, yet of a very similar character; and that traces of such conformity are still to be discovered in the unaltered ritual of the Hindus, and the popular, though ill-understood and fast-expiring practices of the Christian world,—affording a curious and interesting proof of the permanency of those institutions which have their foundation in the immutable laws of nature, and in the common feelings of mankind.

The important character of the Uttaráyaṅa festival, and the remarkable analogies which, whether indisputable or not, it unavoidably suggests, have led to a more copious detail, perhaps, than the subject deserves. It is only, however, in such cases that prolixity will admit of apology. The greater number of the festivals will receive

briefer notices in proportion as they are more or less of a purely ancient description, and of inferior interest.

MA'NSA'SHT'AKA.—*Eighth lunar day of the dark half of the lunar month Mágha, about the 20th of January*[1].—The denomination of this day defines its occurrence, ashtaka, meaning eighth; it also indicates its purport, mánsa signifying flesh. Accordingly, on this day, the Sráddha, or obsequial offerings of flesh, should be made to the pitris or manes. According to the Paurá*n*ik authorities[2], there are three days of this nature, in the months severally of Agraháyaṅa, Mágha, and Phálguna; which is also the specification of Gobhila, as quoted by Raghunandana; but according to the Mitákshará, there are four such ashtakas in the course of the year; there being one on the eighth of the moon's wane of each of the two months of the two seasons of Hemanta and śiśira or the four winter months, when śráddhas are positively enjoined (nitya[3]). The former authorities direct that different offerings shall be made on the three days, or severally, cakes, flesh, and vegetables, as will be noticed. The institution appears to have been part of the ancient ritual, and to have fallen into comparative neglect. The Brahmans of Upper India, who maintain a perpetual fire, and are thence called Agnihotras, are said to observe the Mánsáshtaka; so do the orthodox Saivas and Sáktas, and the disciples of Raghunandana in Bengal; but it is usual to substitute cakes of boiled rice flour[4], mixed with milk and sugar for the meat which was anciently presented, not only at the Ashtaka śráddhas, but, as Manu enjoins, at the periodical śráddhas in general. "Let the Brahman who maintains a household fire, who has performed the funeral ceremonies of his own family, repeat the subsequent general śráddha at the conjunction of the moon every month. The wise have called the monthly śráddhas the subsequent, or periodical śráddha, and that is to be offered diligently with excellent flesh." (B. III. 122, 123.) The time is specified in the Mitákshará, upon the authority of an ancient lawgiver, Aśwaláyana. The flesh should be that of a goat or a deer, King Ikshwáku having commanded a large deer to be brought to him for the śráddha at the Ashtaka[5].

[1] The specification of the date is to be understood as applicable to Bengal, and even there it is subject to occasional variation.

[2] The Vishnu Puran'a specifies three altogether—Aghan, Mágha, and Phálguna. Raghunandana quotes the Brahma P. for the same.

[3] अष्टकाः चतसः हेमन्तशिशिरयोश्चतुर्णामपरपक्षाणामष्टमीषु अष्टका इत्यश्वलायनोक्ताः Mitákshará, 33, I. 16.

[4] Boiled in a pot, sthálípáka, as Gobhila says, अपि वा स्थालीपाकं कुर्वीत

[5] इक्ष्वाकुस्तु विकुक्षिं वै अष्टकायामथादिशत् ।
मांसमानय श्राद्धाय मृगं हत्वा महाबलं ॥

RAT'ANTI CHATURDAŚÍ.—*Fourteenth lunar day of the dark half of Mágha, (26th January.)*—In Sir William Jones's description of this festival, he merely explains it by the sentence, "The waters speak," the word "ratanti," meaning "they speak;" being the first part of an ancient text importing, "The waters say, We purify the sinner who bathes in the month of Mágha, when the sun is scarcely risen, although he be a chandála, or the killer of a Brahman[1]." Accordingly the essential rite on this day is bathing in some sacred stream or piece of water; which should be performed before dawn, whilst the stars are yet visible. As in many parts of India the temperature of the atmosphere is at this season almost cold, bathing at such an hour in the open air may easily be conceived to be no trifling penance. Offerings should also be presented on this occasion to Yama, the judge of the lower regions; for he who worships Yama at this period, it is said, shall not see death. Besides the usual libations of water to deceased progenitors, a śráddha should be celebrated, and Brahmans and the family should be fed with rice mixed with pulse, accompanied by a particular Mantra[2].

These appear to be the ancient directions for a religious rite on the 14th of the dark half of the Mágha; but later days have changed both its time and object. According to the present practice, in Bengal at least, ablution is performed, not before sunrise, but after sunset; and instead of Yama one of the terrific forms of Devi is worshipped, Muńdamáliní, she with the chaplet of skulls, or Syámá, the black goddess; particularly when any cause has prevented the adoration of the latter in the month of Kártik. The authority for this modification of the ceremony is that of the Tantras; and, except by the Sáktas, is not held in much estimation. The day is little observed anywhere.

VARADA' CHATURTHÍ.—*Fourth lunar day of the light half of Mágha (30th January—1st February.)*—According to some of the authorities[3] followed in Hindustan, Siva is to be worshipped on

[1] Harivansa, as cited by Raghunandana. The text, as quoted by Raghunandana, is—

माघे मासि रटन्त्यापः किञ्चिदभ्युदिते रवौ।
ब्रह्मघ्नमपि चाण्डालं कं पतन्तं पुनीमहे॥

[2] As in the Nirnayámrita, from the Brahma Purán'a. माघकृष्णाचतुर्दश्यां विष्णोर्देहान्मरीच्यादिना विभज्य बन्धुभ्यः कृशरं भोजयेत् स्वयम्। The Kalpa Tatwa has ब्राह्मणेभ्यः कृशरान्नं भोजनं दत्वा

[3] Hemádri, Nirnayámrita, Padma Purán'a.

this day in the evening, with offerings of jasmine flowers, whence it is also called Kuńda Chaturthí; but the more usual designation Varadá Chaturthí, implies a goddess, the giver of boons, who in some of the Puráńas is identified with Gaurí, or more especially with Umá, the bride of Siva. She is on this day to be worshipped with offerings of flowers, of incense, or of lights, with platters of sugar and ginger, or milk or salt, with scarlet or saffron-tinted strings and golden bracelets. She is to be worshipped by both sexes, but especially by women; and women themselves, not being widows, are also to be treated with peculiar homage. In the Devi Puráńa it is enjoined, that various kinds of grain, and condiments, and confections, and plates made of baked clay, should be given on this day by maidens to the goddess. The due observance of the rite is said to secure a flourishing progeny. The worship of Gaurí, at this season, seems to be popular in the South of India, as the Calendar specifies the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th of Mágha to be equally consecrated to her. In Bengal little regard is paid to this celebration, although worship is sometimes offered to Umá, on behalf of unmarried females, in reference to the means adopted by Gaurí or Umá, whilst yet a maiden, to propitiate Siva, and obtain him for her husband[1]. This last circumstance renders it not unlikely, that the epithet Varadá ought to be differently interpreted, and that it means the giver of a husband, a bridegroom being one sense of Vara, and the part which is assigned in it to unmarried girls, the presents to be made by and to them—the offerings to be made for them—and the reward of the rite—a family of children, leave little doubt of the correctness of the interpretation. Now this festival, it is to be observed, occurs in the last days of January or beginning of February, and is not far from that time, when "quisque sibi sociam jam legit ales avem." What St. Valentine had to do with the choosing of mates has perplexed antiquaries; the interposition of Umá, in the selection of a bride or bridegroom, is more intelligible, as she may well be disposed to encourage that of which she set the example. The Romish Church, however, furnishes us with a somewhat nearer approximation in the festival of St. Agnes, which occurs on the 21st January, for on the eve of her day, many kinds of divination are practised by virgins to discover their future husbands. Although the festival is accounted for by a legend of the martyrdom and canonization of the virgin Agnes, it is not impossibly a relict of Paganism, like St. Valentine's day, which has been supposed to derive its origin from the

[1] See Sir Wm. Jones's Ode to Bhaváni; also translation of Kumára Sambhava, by Dr. Mill, Journal As. S. B., Vol. II., p. 329.

Roman Lupercalia. These festivals may possibly, however, be merely an ill-understood record of ancient usages with regard to seasons of the year when marriages were most suitably solemnized. This seems to be indicated by the Hindu worship of Varadá, although, even amongst them, the precise import of the festival is forgotten.

That this season was considered propitious for marriages amongst the Greeks, is evident, from the name of the month corresponding with January-February, Γαμηλιών, from marriages (γαμός) being frequently celebrated in it; and what is very curious, although very possibly no more than an accidental coincidence, the fourth from the new moon—the Hindu Chaturthí—is especially recommended by Hesiod: Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι ἐς οἶκον ἄκοιτην· "Let him (the bridegroom) take home his bride on the fourth of the moon."

Srí Panchamí.—*Fifth lunar day of the light half of the month Mágha (2nd February.)* The designation Srí indicates the bride of Vishńu, the goddess of prosperity and abundance; and the text quoted from the Samvatsara Pradípa, in the Tithi Tatwa, confirms the identification by stating, that upon this day, Lakshmí, the Goddess of Fortune, (who is also the bride of Vishńu,) is to be worshipped with flowers, perfumes, food, and water: probably the day was originally dedicated to her. The same text, however, proceeds to direct, that pens, and nk, and books, should be reverenced upon this day; and that a festival should be observed in honour of Saraswatí, the goddess of learning—hence it is inferred, that by Srí, in the first part of the rubric, Saraswatí also is intended, especially as Srí has various significations, one of which may be Saraswatí.

Saraswatí, by the standard mythological authorities, is the wife of Brahmá, and the goddess presiding over letters and arts. The Vaishnavas of Bengal have a popular legend, that she was the wife of Vishńu, as were also Lakshmí and Gangá. The ladies disagreed, Saraswatí, like the other prototype of learned ladies, Minerva, being something of a termagant, and Vishńu, finding that one wife was as much as even a god could manage, transferred Saraswatí to Brahmá and Gangá to Siva, and contented himself with Lakshmí alone. It is worthy of remark, that Saraswatí is represented as of a white colour, without any superfluity of limbs, and not unfrequently of a graceful figure wearing a slender crescent on her brow, and sitting on a lotus.

On the morning of the fifth lunar day of Mágha, the whole of the pens and inkstands, and the books, if not too numerous and bulky, are collected—the pens, or reeds, cleaned, the inkstands scoured, and the

books, wrapped up in new cloth, are arranged upon a platform on a sheet, and are strewn over with flowers and blades of young barley; no flowers except white are to be offered. Sometimes these are the sole objects of adoration; but an image of Saraswatí stands, in general, immediately behind them; or, in place of the image, a water-jar; a not uncommon, although a curious substitute for a god or a goddess, amongst the Hindus.

After performing the necessary rites of ablution, Saraswatí is to be meditated upon, and invited to the place of worship, with some such mental prayer as the following: "May the glorious goddess of speech, she who is of a white complexion and graceful figure, wearing a digit of the moon upon her brow, and carrying an inkstand and a pen in her lotus-like hands,—may, she, sitting on her lotus throne, be present for our protection[1], and for the attainment of honours and wealth." Water is then to be offered for the washing of her feet; food for her refreshment; flowers, or more costly articles, as pearls and jewels, for her decoration; and three salutations are to be made to her with the mantra, "Reverence to Saraswatí, reverence to Bhadrakálí, reverence to the Vedas, to the Vedángas, to the Vedánta, and to all seats of [redacted] addressed to her, the following are [redacted] As Brahmá, the great father of all, [redacted] hout thee, so do thou ever be my [redacted] das and all inspired writings, as all [redacted] er, oh, goddess! independent of thee; [redacted] s be fulfilled. "In the forms of thy eight impersonations, Lakshmí, Medhá, Dhavá, Pushtí, Gaurí, Tushti, Prabhá, and Dhriti, do thou, oh, Saraswatí! be ever my protectress."

At the end of the ceremony, all the members of the family assemble and make their prostrations—the books, the pens, and ink, having an entire holiday; and should any emergency require a written communication on the day dedicated to the divinity of scholarship, it is done with chalk or charcoal upon a black or white board.

After the morning ceremony, the boys and young men repair to the country for amusement and sport, and some of these games are of a very European character, as bat and ball, and a kind of prisoner's base. School-boys also used to consider themselves privileged, on this day, to rob the fields and gardens of the villages, but this privilege was stoutly opposed, and was all but extinct some years ago. In the evening there are entertainments according to the means of the parties.

[1] Sárada Tilaka. Sir W. Jones translates this prayer somewhat differently.
[2] Brahma Purán'a.

The regular celebration of this festival here terminates, but of late years a supplementary observance forms a plea for a second day's holiday in Bengal. The Bengalis have a great passion for throwing the temporary images of their female divinities into the Ganges. It is a rite especially appropriate to Durgá, at the end of the Durgá Púját; but it has been extended to other goddesses, and amongst them, to Saraswatí, at this season. Accordingly, on the sixth lunar day, the image, which is commonly of plastic clay painted, is conveyed in procession to the river side, stripped of its ornaments, and tossed rather unceremoniously into the stream.

There are some remarkable varieties regarding the seasons of this festival in different parts of India, whether it be considered as dedicated to Saraswatí or to Lakshmí. The Srí panchamí, when applied to the former, is observed in Hindustan in Aswin (August-September), and when to the latter, in Márgasírsha (October-November), as we shall have future occasion to notice, or the present, the fifth of Mágha, is held to be the proper Srí panchamí, and dedicated, not to Saraswatí, but to Lakshmí. There is, however, both in Upper India and in the Dekhin, a festival on the fifth of the light half of Mágha, which is no doubt the original and ancient celebration,—the Vasanta Panchamí, or the vernal feast of the fifth lunar day of Mágha, marking the commencement of the season of Spring, and corresponding, curiously enough, with the specific date fixed for the beginning of Spring in the Roman calendar, the fifth of the ides of February.

> Quintus ab æquoreis nitidum jubar extulit annis,
> Lucifer, et primi tempora veris eunt.—Ovid, II., 149, 150.

After the Vasanta Panchamí, Káma the god of love, and his bride Ratí, pleasure, are to be worshipped with offerings of fruits and flowers[1]. In general observance, however, Vishńu and Lakshmí now take their places, as there are no temples to Kámadeva; nor indeed are the celebrations, which probably once occurred at this season, very particularly observed. The day is retained in the calendars, and constitutes a nominal fixed point, from which festivals, which become conspicuous enough a few weeks afterwards, are still said to commence.

[1] Ratí is personified as a young and beautiful female, richly attired and decorated, dancing and playing on the Víná; and Káma is represented as a youth with eight arms, attended by four nymphs,—Pleasure, Affection, Passion, and Power,—bearing the shell, the lotus, a bow and five arrows, and a banner with the Makara,—a figure composed of a goat and a fish, or, as before mentioned, the sign Capricorn.

SÍTALA' SHASHT'HÍ.—*Sixth lunar day of the light half of Mágha (3rd of February.)*—This ceremony is of a strictly private character, and is limited to married women who have children. The object is, in the present day, especially to protect them from the small-pox. The observance, however, seems to have had originally no such specific application, but to have been intended to secure, generally, the healthiness of infants, by the propitiation of a goddess, termed, apparently at the original institution of this rite, Shashthí, but now more commonly Sítalá. According to the legend, the ceremony was instituted by King Priyavrata, in gratitude to Shashthí, for restoring his dead son, Suvrata, to life[1]. It should be celebrated on the sixth day of the light fortnight in every month, but this frequent repetition of it has fallen into disuse. Shashthí is said to be so named because she is a sixth part of the goddess Prakriti, but she evidently derives her name from the day of the fortnight of which she is a personification. She is the daughter of Brahmá, and wife of Kártikeya, the general of the hosts of heaven, and is to be meditated upon as a female dressed in red garments, riding on a peacock and holding a cock. Sítalá, in its ordinary sense, means cold, and is here used as an epithet, in reference, perhaps, to the occasional coolness of the day at this time of the year, as distinguished from the sixth lunar days in other months. The word seems also to have suggested the principal observance on this occasion. Cooking on this day is interdicted, victuals must be dressed on the day preceding, and on this eaten cold. Images of Shashthí are rarely made, but sometimes a small doll represents the goddess, or she is typified by the stone on which condiments are ground. This is covered with a yellow cloth and placed upon a platform; or in villages, at the foot of the Indian fig-tree. Fruits and flowers are offered to it, with this prayer, "Oh, Shashthí! as thou art cold, do thou preserve my children in health."

The worship of Sítalá, as identical with Shashthí, seems to be retained only in Bengal. In Hindustan, upon this day, the sun is worshipped with fasting and prayers, and with offerings of Akand or Mandára leaves, whence it is called the Mandára Shashthí. There is, however, a Sítalá Pújá on the eighth of the dark half of Chaitra (or Phálguna), in which case the two minor goddesses are of course distinct.

BHA'SKARA SAPTAMÍ.—*Twenty-second of Mágha, seventh day of the light fortnight (4th of February).*—This day is in an especial degree sacred to the sun. Abstinence is to be practised on the day preceding;

[1] From the Brahmá Vaivartta Purán'a.—Prakriti Khan'd'a, s. 40.

and in the morning before sunrise, or at the first appearance of dawn, bathing is to be performed until sunrise; a rigid fast is to be observed throughout the day, worship is to be offered to the sun, presents are to be made to the Brahmans, and in the evening the worshipper is to hold a family feast; one of the observances of the day is abstinence from study, neither teacher nor scholar being allowed to open a book.

At the time of bathing, certain prayers are to be mentally recited, during which the bather places upon his head a platter holding seven leaves of the arka plant (calotropis gigantea), or satavár (asparagus racemosus), or the jujube, or a little oil and a lighted wick, and stirs the water around him, according to some, with a piece of sugar-cane; after his prayers, he removes the articles from his head, and sets the lamp afloat on the water. He then makes the usual libations to the Manes, and having gone home, presents food, and money, and clothes, according to his means, to the Brahmans. One of the formulæ of meditation given is, "Glory to thee, who art a form of Rudra, to the lord of Rasas, to Varuna, oh Hárivása, be salutation to thee."

The Káśí Khańda, as quoted in the Kalpa Druma, gives a different prayer: "Of whatever sin committed by me during seven lives, may this Mákarí Saptamí remove both the sorrow and the shame; and whatever sin has been committed by me in this life, through the influence of time, whether in mind, spirit, or body, wittingly or unwittingly, may every such sin, involving the fruit of seven diseases, be effaced by this bathing, oh thou who art identical with the sun, do thou efface it, oh Mákarí Saptamí!" The repetition of this prayer purifies a person from all sin, and the whole rite is considered as securing him from sickness and premature decay.

As appears from these latter mantras, the day is also termed Mákarí Saptamí, the seventh lunar day of the sun in Capricornus. It may be doubted if the term Mákarí is rightly understood, even by the original authorities. Raghunandana considers it to designate the whole month of Mágha, which, regarded as a solar month, should commence with the sun's entrance into the sign. There may, however, be something more in it, and it may originally have been identical with the Uttaráyańa, when the sun is equally an especial object of adoration, and either a change of computation depending on astronomical periods, or the purpose of multiplying festivals, has detached it from its primitive position.

In Upper India, the day is also called Achalá Saptamí, the fixed or immovable seventh, because it is said it is always to be held sacred. In the South it is better known as the Ratha Saptamí, or Seventh of

the Chariot; for it is also the first day of a Manwantara, or period of the reign of a Manu, being that of Vivaswat, when the sun comes abroad in a new carriage. Agreeably to the directions given in the Kalpa Taru, for the proper observance of this rite, the sun should be worshipped in his own temple—a temple it would now be difficult to discover in any part of India—with prayers and offerings upon the sixth; during which abstinence is to be practised, and at night the worshipper is to sleep on the ground. He is to bathe and fast on the seventh, as before described, but he is also to construct a car of gold, or silver, or wood, with horses and driver; and after the mid-day ablutions, to decorate it, and with prayers from the Vedas invite the sun to take his place in it. Worship is then to be addressed to the sun, and the worshipper is to prefer whatever desire he may have formed, which the sun will assuredly grant him. The night is to be spent with music, singing, and rejoicing, and in the morning ablution is to be repeated; presents are to be made to the Brahmans, and the car with all its appurtenances is to be presented to the Guru or spiritual preceptor. This is probably an ancient rite, coeval with the development of the institutions of the Vedas.

Various other appellations are specified as belonging to this same lunar day, as the Jayantí Saptamí, the victorious seventh; the Mahá Saptamí, the great seventh, and others; but the characteristic observance is the same, and whatever the designation, the worship of the sun is the prominent ceremony of the seventh of the light half of Mágha.

The same may be said, however, of the seventh lunar day throughout the year, chiefly of one seventh in each fortnight, that of the moon's increase; but also of the seventh day of the wane. Besides which, there are particular sevenths to which the concurrence of other circumstances, such as its falling on a Sunday, or when the moon enters certain mansions, as Rohini, gives extraordinary sanctity, and renders the worship of the sun more than usually efficacious. The specification of the days of the week by the names of the seven planets, is, as it is well known, familiar to the Hindus. The origin of this arrangement is not very precisely ascertained, as it was unknown to the Greeks and not adopted by the Romans until a late period. It is commonly ascribed to the Egyptians and Babylonians, but upon no very sufficient authority, and the Hindus appear to have, at least, as good a title as any other people to the invention[1].

[1] It has been thought that Herodotus alludes to the custom, when he observes, lib. ii., c. 82, that the Egyptians assign their months and days to different deities. Pliny also has an obscure intimation that the sovereignty over each day was attri-

Aditya-vára, Ravi-vára, or Rabi-bár in the barbarized vernacular, Dies Solis, or Sunday, is one of every seven. This is somewhat different from the seventh Tithi or lunar day, but a sort of sanctity is, or at least was, attached even to Sunday, and fasting on it was considered obligatory or meritorious[1]. But the religious Fasti of the Hindus confine their instructions to the Tithi, and declare, that whoever worships the sun, on the seventh day of the moon's increase, with fasting, and offerings of white oblations, as white flowers and the like; and whoever fasts on the seventh of the moon's wane, and offers to the sun red flowers and articles of a red colour, is purified from all iniquity and goes after death to the solar sphere[2]. The worship of the sun, on the seventh of the dark fortnight, seems to have gone out of use, but that on the seventh of the light fortnight is strongly recommended in various authorities, beginning with this seventh of Mágha and continuing throughout the year. In connexion with this observance, different modes of abstinence are enjoined for each succeeding lunar day, such as taking, during the day, small quantities only of milk, or ghee, or water, or acrid leaves; or fasting wholly from sunset on the sixth till after morning ablutions on the eighth; thence this day is also termed Vidhána Saptamí—the seventh of observance—as being the first of the series. On all these occasions Arghyas, or offerings, are presented to the Sun; but the arghya, more peculiarly appropriated to him, consists of eight articles. These slightly vary in different specifications, but they are usually water, milk, curds, ghee, sesamum and mustard seeds, grains of rice, and the blossom of the kúsa grass. Perfumes and flowers, especially of a white or a red colour, are also most fit to be presented to the sun, according to some authorities. Gifts of fuel, and the lighting of a large fire on the morning of the seventh lunar day of Mágha,

buted to the planets in the order of their revolution. In the time of Dion Cassius, or in the beginning of the third century, the nomenclature had come into general use, and he is the authority for its Egyptian origin. As in the Latin version, quod autem dies ad septem sidera illa, quos planetas appellarunt, referuntur id ab Ægyptiis institutum.—Lib. 38, c. 18. Christmannus, a modern Latin writer, (de Kalendario Romano,) attributes the nomenclature to the Babylonians: Sane apud Romanos nulla tunc erat distinctio temporis in hebdomades dierum; ea tamen apud Babylonios et Ægyptios statim a regno Nabonasari in usu fuit eum septem planetarum nominibus dies septimanæ appellarentur. He does not give his authorities. It was not impossibly of Chaldæan invention, but was very generally diffused throughout the East at a remote date

[1] The jackall declines touching the sinewy meshes of the noose, because it is Sunday.—Hitopadesa.

[2] Commentary on Tithi Tatwa.

are also meritorious acts. The following are two other prayers[1] usual on these occasions, in which it will be noticed that the number "Seven" makes a conspicuous figure.

Upon presenting the Argha, the day itself, personified as a goddess, is thus addressed; "Mother of all creatures, Saptamí! who art one with the lord of the seven coursers and the seven mystic words, glory to thee in the sphere of the sun;" and on prostration before the sun or his image, the worshipper utters, "Glory to thee, who delightest in the chariot drawn by seven steeds, the illuminator of the seven worlds; glory to thee on the seventh lunar day—the infinite, the creator!" It is impossible to avoid inferring, from the general character of the prayers and observances, and the sanctity evidently attached to a recurring seventh day, some connexion with the sabbath, or seventh, of the Hebrew Heptameron.

Bhíshma'sitamí.—*Twenty-third of Mágha, eighth lunar day of the light half (7th February.)*—This is a festival which, at first sight, appears to be of special and traditional origin, but which has, probably, its source in the primitive institutes of the Hindus, of which the worship of the Pitris, the patriarchs or progenitors, the Dii Manes, constituted an important element. According to the Tithi Tatwa, this day is dedicated to Bhíshma, the son of Gangá, and great uncle of the Pándava and Kaurava princes; who was killed in the course of the great war, and dying childless left no descendant in the direct line, on whom it was incumbent to offer him obsequial honours. In order to supply this defect, persons in general are enjoined to make libations of water on this day to his spirit, and to offer him sesamum seeds and boiled rice. The act expiates the sins of a whole year: one of its peculiarities is, that it is to be observed by persons of all the four original castes, according to a text of Dhavala, an ancient lawgiver, quoted by Raghunandana, "Oh, twice-born! persons of all the Varńas should on the eighth lunar day offer water, sesamum seeds, and rice, to Bhíshma. If a Brahman, or man of any other caste, omit to make such offerings, the merit of his good deeds during the preceding year is annulled." According to a different reading of the text, however, it should be rendered: "Let all the twice-born castes make the oblations." This excludes Súdras, but extends the duty to the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas as well as Brahmans. The intention of the rite, as now understood, is expressed in the formulæ uttered at the time of presenting the offerings: "I present this water to the childless hero Bhíshma, of the race of Vyághrapada, the chief of the house of Sankriti. May *Bhíshmá*,

[1] From the Narasinha Purán'a.

the son of Santanu, the speaker of truth and subjugator of his passions, obtain by this water the oblations due by sons and grandsons." The simple nature of the offerings which are sufficient on such occasions, water and sesamum seeds, justifies the remark made by Ovid on the Feralia, that the Manes are easily satisfied,—Parva petunt manes.

The observance of this ceremony is almost obsolete in Bengal, and in the principal authorities of Hindustan it is not noticed. The Bhavishyottara Puráńa has a Bhíshma panchakam,—a solemn rite which begins on the 11th of Kártik (light half), and continues to the 13th, which has something of the character of the Feralia, being a period of mortification and fasting, and expiatory of sin, which is worshipped in an effigy made for the occasion, placed upon a measure of sesamum, and invoked by the appellations of Dharma-raja or Yama, the judge of the dead. The ceremony is said to have been ordained by Bhíshma, when mortally wounded, and is to be practised by all castes, and even by women. The rite is not found, however, in any of the calendars, and it is probably an expiring relique of the once general and public worship of the Manes.

Bhaimyeka'daśí.—*Eleventh lunar day of the light half of Mágha* (*10th February.*)—This is also a festival of traditional origin, said to have been first observed by Bhíma, one of the Páńdu princes, in honour of Vishńu, according to the instructions of Vásudeva. Every eleventh lunar day, it may be observed, is held in extravagant veneration by the Hindus, but more particularly by the Vaishńavas. Fasting on the eleventh is declared to be equally efficacious with a thousand aśwamedhas, and eating during its continuance as heinous a sin as parricide, or the murder of a spiritual teacher. This extravagance demonstrates its sectarian character, and consequently its more modern origin. The notion may have grown, however, out of particular appropriations of the lunar day, when the eleventh was set apart, as in the present case, to the adoration of Vishńu.

According to the ritual, the worshipper on this occasion is to fast on the tenth, and bathe at sunset. He is to bathe at dawn on the eleventh, and having previously constructed a temporary temple in the court-yard of his house, he is to cause burnt-offerings to be made to Purushottama and other forms of Vishńu, by Brahmans acquainted with the Vedas; he himself going through a rather complicated series of prayers and gesticulations. There is no image of Vishńu, and he is invoked by formulæ derived from the Vedas. The worshipper observes a strict fast throughout the day, and keeps a vigil at night

with music and singing. On the morning of the twelfth he dismisses the Brahmans with presents, bathes, and then takes a meal, of which flesh forms no part. The performance of this ceremony expiates the sin incurred by omission of any of the prescribed fasts during the preceding twelvemonth.

Some differences of date and nomenclature occur, in various authorities, regarding this day. The Kalpa Druma calls it Jayá, but enjoins fasting and watching, and the worship of Vishńu; and attributes to it the same expiatory efficacy, calling it the purifier, the destroyer of sin, the bestower of all desires, and the granter of emancipation to mankind.—Pavitrá, pápahantrí cha, kámadá, mokshadá, nrinám. The same work, however, has a day named from Bhíma, and refers to the same legend for its origin; but it places it on the following day, as Bhíma dwádaśí. The Bhavishyottara Puráńa also removes the day to the twelfth, and tells a different story to account for it, describing it as taught by the sage Pulastya to King Bhíma, the father of Damayantí, in reply to his anxious inquiry how sin was to be efficaciously expiated. Like the preceding, its essence is the domestic worship of Vishńu, with the Homa or oblations to fire, and ceremonies and prayers of Vaidika origin. One part of the ceremony consists in the administration of a sort of shower-bath to the institutor of the rite, as towards evening water is dropped upon his head from a perforated vessel, whilst he sits meditating upon Vishńu. The evening is to be spent in music and singing, and the reading of the Harivansa, or Sánti parva of the Mahábhárata. The ceremony expiates all possible wickedness. The rite is held in little esteem, and is evidently compounded of the observances of various eras,—all of which are equally little understood,—although the compound is manifestly of a purificatory or expiatory character.

Shat Tíla Da'nam.—*Twenty-seventh Mágha, twelfth day of the light half* (*11th February*).—This may be considered as in some sort a continuation of the Bhaimyekádaśí, and is intended for the same object —the removal or expiation of sin. As the name implies, six different acts are to be performed, in all which Tila or sesamum seeds, are an essential ingredient. The person who observes the rite is to bathe in water in which they have been steeped—to anoint himself with a paste made of them—to offer them with clarified butter upon fire—to present them with water to the manes of his ancestors—to eat them—to give them away. The consequences of so doing are purification from sin, exemption from sickness and misfortune, and a sojourn in Indra's heaven for thousands of years. According to the Bráhma

Puráńa, Yama, the deity of the infernal regions, created Sesamum after long and arduous penance upon this day, whence its sanctity. The same title and the same virtues are sometimes attributed also to the twelfth of the dark fortnight of the month, as was explained by Agastya to Dattatreya, when he asked by what means the effects of sin would be obviated, and sinners saved from hell without great effort or munificent donations[1]. The ceremonies to be performed with Tila seeds are the easy means of accomplishing the object. The importance attached to the use of Sesamum in most of the offerings, but especially in those to the Manes, is very remarkable and not very explicable. The legend of their being generated by Yama is rather the consequence than the cause of such appropriation. Sesamum seeds did form an ingredient in the offerings of the Greeks, but not with the same frequency, nor apparently with the same object. Cakes of sesamum were distributed by them at marriages, as the grains were considered typical of fertility. Perhaps some such opinion may have prevailed amongst the Hindus, and hence their use in obsequial offerings, the great end of which is not merely the satisfaction of the dead, but the perpetuation of progeny, and the prosperity of the living.

Another festival is observed on this day, in some parts of India, in honour of Vishńu, as the Varáha, his descent as a boar to lift up the earth from beneath the waters, being supposed to have occurred on this day; hence it is termed also the Varáha Dwádasi.

YUGA'DYA'.—*Thirtieth Mágha, fifteenth day, light half, or full moon of Mágha* (*14th February.*)—Bathing and fasting, and the offering of sesamum seeds to the Manes, are enjoined on the full moon of Mágha, and it is also held in additional honour as the anniversary of the commencement of the Kali Yug, or present age of the world, the age of impurity. According to some authorities the anniversaries of the Yugas occur not on the days of opposition, or full moon, but on those of conjunction or new moon, and this is more consonant to the character of the rites principally practised, as bathing and libations of water and sesamum to the Dii Manes. Thus the Vishńu Puráńa observes, the fifteenth of Mágha in the dark fortnight is one of the days called by ancient teachers, the Anniversaries of the first day of a Yuga or Age, and are esteemed most sacred; on these days water mixed with sesamum seeds should be regularly presented to the progenitors of mankind; and again, the Pitris are described as saying, "After having received satisfaction for a twelvemonth we shall further derive it from

[1] Kalpa Druma.

libations offered by our descendants at some holy place at the end of the dark fortnight of Mágha."

SA'KA'SHTAMÍ.—*Ninth of the solar month Phálguna; Eighth day of lunar month Phálguna, dark half (22nd February).*—This is another of the eighth lunar days dedicated to the Manes, when their worship is to be performed with the usual accompaniments of bathing and abstinence, and offerings to the Viswadevas or universal gods. On this occasion the offerings presented to the Pitris are, as the name imports, restricted to vegetable substances, Sáka signifying any potherb.

VIJAYAIKA'DASÍ.—*Eleventh Phálguna, dark half (24th February).*—A celebration little known or observed. A water jar, decorated with the emblems of Vishńu, and considered as a type of him, is worshipped with the usual oblations; bathing in the morning and a vigil at night are to be observed. This is considered as a purificatory ceremony, first performed by Ráma to secure his passage across the ocean to Lanká: according to the authority, the Skanda Puráńa, quoted by the Kalpa Druma, it is an old ceremony of a purificatory tendency, removing sin and conducing to virtue.

Before taking leave of the period which has been latterly described, and which corresponds with the greater portion of the month of February, it is impossible not to be struck with the peculiar character of the ceremonies. From the time of the Vasanta panchamí, which ushers in the spring with indications of festivity, all the observances partake more or less of a lustral or purificatory purport; some of them have no other aim than the expiation of sin, whilst this in others is mixed up with the worship of the Manes. Purification from, or expiation of wickedness is, however, the predominating design of the ceremonies; and ablution and fasting, and abstinence of all kinds are the practices considered essential to the attainment of this object. Such are the chief intentions of the Makara Saptamí, Bhíshmáshtamí, Bhaimyekádasí, Shat-tila dánam, Yugádya, and Sákáshtamí, all occurring within this interval. Now the spirit of the time is precisely that which marked a great part of the month of February among the Romans, and the name of the month itself is said to have been derived from its dedication by Numa to Februus, the god of lustrations, for in that month it was necessary to purify the city and pay to the Dii Manes the oblations that were their due: "Nomen habet a Februo deo lustrationum cui a Numa erat dicatus. Lustrari autem eo mense civitatem necesse erat; quo statuit ut justa Diis manibus solverentur[1]."

[1] Macrobius, Saturn. I. 13.

According to some, the name is derived from the verb "februor," to be cleansed or purified. The connexion between lustrations and obsequial rites is another analogy, and consonantly with this opinion, the Feralia, or worship of the manes were celebrated for several days in February, ending with the 17th, or according to some with the 23rd. The month was thence called also the Feralis Mensis. This similarity of time and of purposes can scarcely have been accidental, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the Feralia of the Romans and the Sráddha of the Hindus, the worship of the Pitris and of the Manes, have a common character and had a common origin.

SIVARA'TRÍ.—*Fourteenth of the lunar month Phálguna; dark half, (27th February).*—This, in the estimation of the followers of Siva, is the most sacred of all their observances, expiating all sins, and securing the attainment of all desires during life, and union with Siva or final emancipation after death. The ceremony is said to have been enjoined by Siva himself, who declared to his wife Umá, that the fourteenth of Phálguna, if observed in honour of him, should be destructive of the consequences of all sin, and should confer final liberation. According to the Isána Sanhitá, it was on this day that Siva first manifested himself as a marvellous and interminable Linga, to confound the pretensions of both Brahmá and Vishńu, who were disputing which was the greater divinity. To decide the quarrel, they agreed that he should be acknowledged the greater, who should first ascertain the limits of the extraordinary object which appeared of a sudden before them. Setting off in opposite directions, Vishńu undertook to reach the base, Brahmá the summit; but after some thousand years of the gods spent in the attempt, the end seemed to be as remote as ever, and both returned discomfited and humiliated, and confessed the vast superiority of Siva. The legend seems to typify the exaltation of the Saiva worship over that of Vishńu and Brahmá, an event which no doubt at one time took place.

There is some difference of practice in respect to the day on which this festival is observed; according to some authorities, it is held on the fourteenth of the dark half of Mágha, according to others on the fourteenth of that of Phálguna; but this is a mere nominal difference, arising from the modes of reckoning the beginning of the month from the new or the full moon. Another difference, which is less easily adjusted, is that of date; some considering the festival as properly commencing on the thirteenth instead of the fourteenth; which appears to be the case in the South, according to the published calendars. This arises from the circumstance of the chief part of the

ceremony being observed by night, as the name of Sivarátri denotes, and of a variety in the apportionment of the hours of the night to the series of observances. According to some, the ceremony should begin on the evening of the thirteenth Tithi, or lunar day, if it extends to four hours after sunset; according to others, it should begin on whichever of the two tithis or lunar days comprises the larger proportion of the hours of the night; according to some, it should be held on the Tithi, which comprises both evening twilight, and midnight; and according to others, that which includes midnight without the evening. These are knotty points, which are not very intelligible without reference to an almanac, but they are not the less important in the eyes of the worshippers of Siva. When the Tithi coincides with the solar day, or lasts from sunrise to sunrise, it is called Suddha, or pure, and the rite begins with the morning of the fourteenth and closes on the morning of the fifteenth.

The three essential observances are fasting during the whole Tithi, or lunar day, and holding a vigil and worshipping the Linga during the night; but the ritual is loaded with a vast number of directions, not only for the presentation of offerings of various kinds to the Linga, but for gesticulations to be employed, and prayers to be addressed to various subordinate divinities connected with Siva, and to Siva himself in a variety of forms. After bathing in the morning, the worshipper recites his Sankalpa, or pledges himself to celebrate the worship. He repeats the ablution in the evening, and going afterwards to a temple of Siva, renews his pledge, saying, "I will perform the worship of Siva, in the hope of accomplishing all my wishes, of obtaining long life, and progeny, and wealth, and for the expiation of all sins of whatever dye I may have committed during the past year, open or secret, knowingly or unknowingly, in thought, or act, or speech." He then scatters mustard-seed with special mantras, and offers an argha; after which he goes through the mátrika nyása,—a set of gesticulations accompanied by short mystical prayers, consisting chiefly of unmeaning syllables, preceded by a letter of the alphabet: as, A-kam, A'-srán, salutation to the thumb; I-chan, I'-srin, salutation to the forefinger; U-stan, U'-stúm, salutation to the middle finger; and so on, going through the whole of the alphabet with a salutation, or namaskár, to as many parts of the body, touching each in succession, and adding, as the Mantras proceed, names of the Mátris, female Saktís, or energies of Siva, who, by virtue of these incantations, are supposed to take up their abode for the time in the different members of the worshipper. Other objects are supposed to be effected by similar means; impediments are obviated by stamping thrice, and repeating as often the Mantra

"Houn, to the weapon, phat;" next, with the same mantra, and by thrice snapping the finger, the ten quarters of the sphere, or universal space, are aggregated in the Linga; and the purification of all beings is to be effected by thrice clapping the hands together, and uttering the same Mantra each time. The repetition of nyása, or touching parts of the body whilst repeating mystical ejaculations, accompanies every offering made to the Linga, as fruits, flowers, incense, lights, and the like, during the whole ceremony.

When the rite is performed, as it most usually is, in the performer's own residence, a Linga, if not already set up, is consecrated for the purpose; and this is to be propitiated with different articles in each watch of the night on which the vigil is held. In the first watch, it is to be bathed with milk, the worshipper, or the Brahman employed by him, uttering the Mantra "Houn—reverence to Iśána." An offering is then made with the prayer: "Devoutly engaging in thy worship, oh, Iśwara, and in repeating thy names, I celebrate the Sivarátrí rite according to rule, do thou accept this offering!" Incense, fruits, flowers, and articles of food, as boiled rice, or sometimes even dressed flesh are offered with the customary prostration, and with the repetition of other Mantras.

A similar course is followed in the other three periods, with a modification of the formulæ, and the articles used to bathe the Linga with Then in the second, it is bathed with curds, with the Mantra "Houn —reverence to Aghora;" and the mantra of the Argha is "Reverence to the holy Siva, the destroyer of all sins; I offer this Argha at the Sivarátri, do thou with Umá be propitious." In the third, the bathing is performed with ghee, with the Mantra "Houn, reverence to Vámadeva;" and the Argha-mantra is, "I am consumed by pain, poverty, and sorrow: oh Lord of Párvatí, do thou, oh beloved of Umá, accept the Argha I present thee on this Sivarátrí!" In the fourth watch the Linga is bathed with honey, with the Mantra "Houn, reverence to Sadyajáta;" and the Argha-prayer is, "Oh, Sankara! take away the many sins committed by me, accept, beloved of Umá, the oblation I present thee on this the night of Siva." At the end of the watch, or daylight, the ceremony is to be concluded with the radical mantra, "Siváya nama," and some such prayers as these; "Through thy favour, oh Iśwara! this rite is completed without impediment; oh look with favour, oh lord of the universe, Hara, sovereign of the three worlds, on what I have this day done, which is holy and dedicated to Rudra! Through thy grace has this rite been accomplished. Be propitious to me, oh, thou most glorious! Grant to me increase of affluence: merely by beholding thee I am assuredly sancti-

fied." Oblations to fire are then to be made, and the ceremony concludes with further offerings to the Linga, and with the Mantra, "By this rite may Sankara be propitiated, and coming hither, bestow the eye of knowledge on him who is burnt up by the anguish of worldly existence." Brahmans are to be entertained, and presents are to be made to them by the master of the house and his family holding a feast.

Those modes of adoration which are at all times addressed to the different forms of Siva, and those articles which are peculiarly enjoined to be presented to the Linga, form, of course, part of the observances of the Sivarátri. Amongst the forms is the Japa, or muttered recitation of his different names as the worshipper turns between his fingers the beads of a rosary, made of the seeds of the Rudráksha, or Eleocarpus. The fullest string contains one hundred and eight beads, for each of which there is a separate appellation, as Siva, Rudra, Hara, Sankara, Iśwara, Maheśwara, Súlapáni, Paśupati, and others. Amongst the latter, are certain leaves and flowers, and fruits, and especially those of the bel-tree, as in the text—"The Vilwa is the granter of all desires, the remover of poverty; there is nothing with which Sankara is more gratified than with the leaf of the Vilwa." The flower of the Datúra is another of his favourites, and a single presentation of it to a Linga is said to secure equal recompense as the gift of a hundred thousand cows. At the Sivarátri worship, the Linga may be crowned with a chaplet of Ketaki flowers, but only on this occasion. According to the legend, a Ketaki blossom fell from the top of the miraculous Siva-linga, already alluded to as having appeared to Brahmá and Vishńu, and being appealed to by the former, falsely affirmed that Brahmá had taken it from the summit of the Linga. Vishńu, knowing this to be untrue, pronounced an imprecation upon the flower, that it should never more be offered to Siva. He was moved, however, by the penitence of the flower, so far to remit the penalty, as to allow its decorating the Linga worshipped at the Sivarátri pújá.

The worship of Siva at this season is permitted to all castes, even to Chándálas, and to women, and the use of the Mantras seems to be allowed to them; the only exception being the mystical syllable "Om." This they are not to utter; but they may go through the acts of worship with the prayer "Siváya nama." The same rewards attend their performance of it with faith, elevation to the sphere of Siva, identification with him and freedom from future birth, and these benefits accrue even though the rite be observed unintentionally and unwittingly, as is evidenced by the legend of a forester which is related

in the second part of the Śiva Puráńa, ch. xxxiv. Being benighted in the woods on the Sivarátri, the forester took shelter in a Vilwa-tree. Here he was kept in a state of perpetual wakefulness by dread of a tiger prowling round the foot of the tree. He therefore observed, though compulsorily, the Jágarańa or vigil. The forester had nothing with him to eat, consequently he held the fast. Casting down the leaves of the tree to frighten the tiger, some of them fell upon a deserted Linga near the spot, and thus he made the prescribed offering. On the ensuing morning the forester fell a prey to the tiger, but such was the fruit of his involuntary observance of the rites of the Sivarátri, that when the messengers of Yama came to take his spirit to the infernal regions they were opposed by the messengers of Siva, who enlisted him in their ranks, and carried him off in triumph to the heaven of their master.

Notwithstanding the reputed sanctity of the Sivarátri, it is evidently of sectarial and comparatively modern, as well as merely local institution, and consequently offers no points of analogy to the practices of antiquity. It is said in the Kalpa Druma, that two of the mantras are from the Rig veda, but they are not cited, and it may well be doubted if any of the Vedas recognise any such worship of Siva. The great authorities for it are the Puráńas and the Tantras; the former—the Siva, Linga, Padma, Matsya, and Váyu, are quoted chiefly for the general enunciations of the efficacy of the rite and the great rewards attending its performance: the latter for the mantras: the use of mystical formulæ, of mysterious letters and syllables, and the practice of the Nyása and other absurd gesticulations being derived mostly, if not exclusively, from them, as the Iśána Sanhitá, the Siva Rahasya, the Rudra Yámala, Mantra-Mahodadhi, and other Tántrika works. The age of these compositions is unquestionably not very remote, and the ceremonies for which they are the only authorities, can have no claim to be considered as parts of the primitive system. This does not impair the popularity of the rite, and the importance attached to it is evidenced by the copious details which are given by the compilers of the Tithi Tatwa and Kalpa Druma regarding it, and by the manner in which it is observed in all parts of India.

The performance of the ceremonies of the Sivarátri is possessed of enhanced efficacy when conducted at those places which are in an especial manner dedicated to Siva, particularly at the shrines which were known to have been celebrated seats of worship of the Linga before the Mohammedan invasion. Such is the temple of Vaidyanáth in Bengal, about 110 miles W. by N. from Murshedabad. The Linga worshipped there is one of the twelve great Lings which were wor-

shipped in India at least ten centuries ago, and still retains its reputation. In consequence of the establishment of the Mohammedan rule, and its position in a rugged and mountainous country overrun with thickets, the shrine fell for a season into neglect and decay, but it was repaired and restored to popularity by a Maithila Brahman about two centuries since. An annual Mela takes place at Vaidyanáth, at the Sivarátri, when more than a hundred thousand pilgrims assemble. The meeting lasts three days, and the offerings made to the temple ordinarily exceed a lakh and a-half of rupees. The shrine has some credit as an oracle, and a course of worship and fasting on the spot is productive of dreams, which are believed to convey the answers of Siva to the prayers and petitions that have been preferred to him.

A still more numerous concourse of pilgrims occurs annually on the Sívaratri at the temple of Mallikárjuna in the Dekhin, also one of the twelve ancient Lingas, the temple of which is situated in a country quite as difficult of access as Vaidyanáth. An account of the Mela held here is given by the late Colonel Mackenzie, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches. He calls the place Sri-parvatham—properly Srí Parvata, or Srí Saila, the holy mountain—he specifies the name of the Linga, however, as Mallikarja, that is to say Malhikárjuna.

According to the Bombay Calendar, there is a numerous assemblage of Hindus at the Sivarátri on the Island of Elephanta, the great cave temple of which place contains the well known three-headed image of Siva.

GOVÍNDA DWA'DASI.—*Twenty-seventh solar Phálguna; twelfth day, light half, (13th March.)* This is a festival, which, as observed in Bengal, is held in honour of Krishńa, who is worshipped in his juvenile form as a cowherd. In Hindustan it is termed the Nrisinha dwádasí, and is dedicated to Vishńu in his Avatára of the Nrisinha, or man-lion. In neither is it an observance held in much repute.

GHAN'T'A-KARN'A PU'JA'.—*Twenty-ninth solar Phálguna; fourteenth day, light half (15th March).* This is also a minor festival, and apparently confined to Bengal. Ghańta-karńa, one of Siva's gańas, or attendants, is to be worshipped under the type of a water-jar: the object of the rite is expressed in this prayer, which accompanies the presentation of fruits and flowers to the jar. "Oh, Ghańta-karńa! healer of diseases, do thou preserve me from the fear of cutaneous affections." Ghańta-karńa is described in the Síva Puráńa as endowed with great personal beauty, and is, therefore, reputed to sympathise

with those who suffer any disfigurement. In Hindustan there are directions for worshipping Maheswara, or Siva himself, on the fourteenth of the light half of Phálguna.

DOLA YA'TRA', OR HOLI.—*Thirtieth solar Phálguna, or first of Chaitra; fifteenth day, light half, or full moon of Phálguna* (*16th March*).—Although named together, and in various parts of India, especially in Bengal, confounded with each other, yet in other places these festivals are still, as they no doubt were originally elsewhere, distinct[1]; the Dolotsava, or Swinging Festival, taking place at a date something later, and this period belonging, most appropriately, to the Holi. It will be convenient to notice them here together however, for the Holi, as a distinct celebration, is not known in Bengal, although many of the observances which are there practised at the Dola Yátrá are in many respects the same, are influenced by the same spirit, and express in the like style of language and deportment the feelings of exuberant gladness which hail the return of spring.

When India was governed by native princes, and the institutions of the Hindus were in full vigour, there is reason to believe, that at this time of the year a series of connected and consistent festivities spread through a protracted period of several weeks, and that the whole constituted the Vasantotsava, the feast of Vasanta or Spring. The proper commencement of this period was, perhaps, the Vasanta Panchamí, the fifth of the light half of Mágha, which, as we have had occasion to notice, was regarded as the beginning of Spring. After this, however, ensued the gloomy succession of lustral and purificatory rites which have been described, and which suspend the season of festivity until the period now under consideration, when the Holi takes the place of the initiatory Vasanta Panchamí, and is followed by celebrations in honour of Spring, and the friend of Spring, Love. Whether there has been any dislocation of times and observances here—whether the lustral days did not at one time precede the vernal rejoicings, we have no means of determining; but it is somewhat remarkable, that such was the case with the February of the Romans, which, in the days of Numa, when their year consisted of but ten months, was the last of the year, and therefore, was fitly enough the season for expiating the accumulated iniquities of the preceding months. However this may be, such is now the case, and the vernal festival is broken in upon and interrupted by observances of a different complexion—the effect of

[1] The Kalpa Druma does notice a Dolotsava,—the swinging of Krishn'a on the Phálguní purnimá.

which may, perhaps, have been to heighten by the contrast the sense of exhilaration when the time for it recurred.

It is also to be remarked, that although traces of the original purport of the festival are palpable enough, yet that Love and Spring have been almost universally deposed from the rites over which they once presided, and that they have been superseded by new and less agreeable mythological creations; new legends have also been invented to account for the origin and object of the celebration, having little or no obvious relation to the practices which are pursued. Thus, in Bengal, the divinity worshipped at the Dola Yátrá is the juvenile Krishńa, whilst in Hindustan, the personified Holi is a female hob-goblin, a devourer of little children.

As publicly commemorated in Bengal, the Dola Yátrá, or swinging festival, begins on the fourteenth day of the light half of Phálguna (about the middle of March). The head of the family fasts during that day. In the evening fire-worship is performed; after which the officiating Brahman sprinkles upon an image of Krishńa, consecrated for the occasion, a little red powder, and distributes a quantity of the same among the persons present. This powder, termed Phalgu, or Abíra, is made chiefly of the dried and pounded root of the Curcuma Zerumbet, or of the wood of the Cæsalpinia Sappan, which are of a red colour, or in some places the yellow powder of Turmeric is substituted. After this ceremony is concluded a bonfire is made on a spot previously prepared, and a sort of Guy Fawkes-like effigy, termed Holiká, made of bamboo laths and straw, is formally carried to it and committed to the flames. In villages and small towns the bonfire is public, and is made outside the houses. The figure is conveyed to the spot by Brahmans or Vaishńavas, in regular procession, attended by musicians and singers. Upon their arrival at the spot, the image is placed in the centre of the pile, and the ministering Brahman, having circumambulated it seven times, sets it on fire. The assistants should then immediately return to their homes. The remainder of the day is passed in merriment and feasting.

Before daylight on the morning of the fifteenth, the image of Krishńa is carried to the swing, which has been previously set up, and placed in the seat or cradle, which, as soon as the dawn appears, is set gently in motion for a few turns. This is repeated at noon, and again at sunset. During the day, the members of the family and their visiters, who are numerous on this occasion, amuse themselves by scattering handfuls of red powder over one another, or by sprinkling each other with rose-water, either plain or similarly tinted. The place where the swing is erected is the usual site of the sport, and

continues so for several days. Boys and persons of the lower orders sally forth into the streets and throw the powder over the passengers, or wet them with the red liquid thrown through syringes, using, at the same time, abusive and obscene language. In the villages, the men generally take part in the mischief, and persons of respectability and females are encountered with gross expressions, or sometimes with rough usage, and rarely, therefore, trust themselves out of their houses whilst the license continues.

The people of Orissa have no bonfire at the Dola Yátrá, but they observe the swinging and the scattering of the abír; they have also some peculiar usages. Their Gosains, Brahmans, followers of Chaitanya, carry in procession the images of the youthful Krishńa to the houses of their disciples and their patrons, to whom they present some of the red powder and atr of roses, and receive presents of money and cloth in return.

The caste of Gopas, or cowherds, is everywhere prominently conspicuous in this ceremony, and especially so amongst the Uriyas; and at the Dola Yátrá, or Holi, they not only renew their own garments, but all the harness and equipments of their cattle; they also bathe them and paint their foreheads with sandal and tumeric. They themselves collect in parties, each under a leader or chorægus, whom they follow through the streets, singing, and dancing, and leaping, as if wild with joy. A curious part of their proceeding, suggesting analogies, possibly accidental, with some almost obsolete usages amongst ourselves, is their being armed with slender wands; and as they go along, the leader every now and then halts and turns round to his followers, and the whole clatter their wands together for an instant or two, when they resume their route, repeating their vociferations and songs, chiefly in praise of Krishńa or in commemoration of his juvenile pastimes.

Although the Holi is considered in some parts of Hindustan to begin with the vernal fifth, or Vasanta Panchamí, yet the actual celebration of it, even in Upper India, does not take place till about ten days before the full moon of Phálguna. The two first days of this term are of preparation merely; new garments, red or yellow, are put on, and families feast and make merry together; on the eighth day, the work proceeds more in earnest: images of Krishńa are set up and worshipped, and smeared with red powder, or sprinkled with water, coloured with the same material. In the villages and towns, where there is no Anglo-Indian police to interfere, the people, having selected an open spot in the vicinity, bring thither gradually the materials of a bonfire,—wood, grass, cowdung, and other fuel. The head men of

the villages, or the chiefs of the trades, first contribute their quotas; the rest collect whatever they can lay hands upon,—fences, door-posts, and even furniture, if not vigilantly protected. If these things be once added to the pile, the owner cannot reclaim them, and it is a point of honour to acquiesce—any measures, however, are allowable to prevent their being carried off. During the whole period, up to the fifteenth day, the people go about scattering the powder and red liquid over each other, singing and dancing, and annoying passengers by mischievous tricks, practical jokes, coarse witticisms, and vulgar abuse. In the larger towns, which are subject to British authority, the festival is restricted to three days, and the celebrants are not permitted to attack indifferent passers by of any degree. In Calcutta little of the festival is witnessed, except among the palankin bearers, who are generally permitted by their masters to devote a few hours of the forenoon, for two or three days, to amuse themselves by staining each others' faces and clothes, and singing and dancing, and sometimes getting tipsy. They do not venture to throw the powder over their masters, but they bring a small quantity with some sweetmeats on a tray, and the courtesy is acknowledged by those who do not despise national observances and the merry-making of their dependants by placing two or three rupees upon the platter. In the native regiments a little more licence is allowed, and the officers are gently bepowdered with the abír; and at the Courts of Hindu princes, when such things were, the British Resident and the officers of his suite were usually participators in the public diversions of their Highnesses. An amusing account of the proceedings at the Court of Maharaj Dowlat Rao Sindhia is given by Major Broughton, in his letter from a Marhatta camp.

We have, however, in this digression rather anticipated matters, and must return to the fourteenth day, by which time the pile of the bonfire is completed. It is then consecrated and lighted up by a Brahman, and when the flames break forth, the spectators crowd round it to warm themselves, an act that is supposed to avert ill-luck for the rest of the year; they engage also in some rough gambols, trying to push each other nearer to the fire than is agreeable or safe, and as the blaze declines, jump over and toss about the burning embers; when the fuel is expended and the fire extinct, which is not until the fifteenth or full moon, the ashes are collected and thrown into the water. Such of the celebrants as are Saivas take up part and smear their bodies over with them in imitation of Siva. According to Colonel Tod, the practice of the Rajputs conforms so far to the original institution, that for forty days after the Vasanta Panchamí, or up to the

full moon of Phálguna, the utmost licence prevails at Udaypur, both in word and action; the lower classes regale on stimulating confections and intoxicating liquors, and even respectable persons roam about the streets like bacchanals, vociferating songs in praise of the powers of nature. The chief orgies, however, take place after the beginning of Phálguna, when the people are continually patrolling the streets, throwing the common powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, until their clothes and countenances are all of the same dye. A characteristic mode of keeping the festival is playing the Holi on horseback, when the riders pelt each other with balls of the red powder, inclosed in thin plates of talc which break when they strike.

On the full moon, or Purnimá, the Rána goes in state to an open pavilion in the centre of a spacious plain, where he is attended by his chiefs, and passes an hour listening to the Holi songs. The surrounding crowd amuse themselves with throwing the red powder on all within their reach. After this, the Rána feasts his chiefs, and presents them with cocoa-nuts and swords of lath, in burlesque of real swords; "in unison," Tod observes, "with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication not the destruction of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the Spring." At nightfall the forty days conclude with the burning of the Holi, when they light large fires into which various substances as well as the abír are cast, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets. The sports continue till three hours after sunrise, when the people bathe, change their garments, worship and return to the state of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.

Amongst the Tamils, or people of Madras and the farther south, the Dolotsava, or Swing Festival, does not occur until about a month later; but on the fifteenth of Phálguna they have a celebration more analogous to the Holi of Hindustan, and which is no doubt a genuine fragment of the primitive institution, the adoration of the personified Spring, as the friend and associate of the deity of Love. The festival of the full moon of Phálguna is the Káma-dahanam, the burning of Kámadeva, whose effigy is committed to the flames. This is supposed to commemorate the legend of Káma's having been consumed by the flames which flashed indignant from the eye of Siva, when the archer god presumed to direct his shaft against the stern deity, and inflame his breast with passion for Párvatí, the daughter of the monarch of the Himálaya Mountains. Kámadeva was reduced to a heap of ashes, although he was afterwards restored to existence by the

intercession of the bride of Mahádeva. The bonfires in the Dekhin are usually made in front of the temples of Siva, or sometimes of Vishńu, at midnight, and when extinct the ashes are distributed amongst the assistants, who rub them over their persons. The scattering of the abír, the singing and abuse, and the ordinary practices of the festival in Upper India, are also in use in the South.

The prominence given to Kámadeva at this season by the Tamil races, and their preserving some remnant of the purport of the primitive festival, are the more interesting, that little or no trace of the chief object of worship is preserved in Upper India. Kámadeva and Vasanta are quite out of date, and legends of a totally different tendency have been devised to explain the purpose of the bonfire and the effigy exposed to it. The heroine of these legends is a malignant witch, or a foul female goblin, or Rákshasí, named Hori, Holi, or Holiká, a word which, although it occurs in some of the Puráńas, is not of a very obvious Sanskrit etymology[1].

According to one account Holi is the same as the female demon Pútaná, of whom it is related in the Vishńu and Bhágavata Puráńas, and in the popular biographies of Krishńa taken from them, that she attempted to destroy the baby Krishńa, by giving him her poisoned nipples to suck. The little god, knowing with whom he had to deal, sucked so hard and perseveringly, that he drained the Rákshasí of her life. The popular legend adds, that the dead body disappeared, and the Gopas, or cowherds of Mathurá, burnt the Rákshasí therefore in effigy. The chief authority for the institution of the Holi, however, is the Bhavishyottara Puráńa, and as an authentic representation of the popular notion which now prevails, and which is nevertheless no doubt erroneous, I shall give a translation of the legend told in that compilation.

"Yudhishthira said, 'Tell me, Janárdana, wherefore on the full moon of Phálguna, a festival is celebrated in the world, in every village, and in every town; why are children playing and dancing in every house, why is the Holiká lighted, what words are uttered, what is the meaning of the name Atṭátajá, what of Síloshńá, what divinity is worshipped at this season, by whom was the rite instituted, what observances are to be practised? Give me, Krishńa, a full account of these things.' Krishńa replied: 'In the Krita age, Yudhishthira, there was a king named Raghu, a brave warrior, endowed with all good

[1] It appears from the Bhavishyottara Purán'a, as given below, to be derived from Homa, burnt offering, and Loka, mankind; because the latter are made prosperous by the performance of the former on this occasion; an evidently fanciful derivation.

qualities, a kind speaker, and deep read in the Vedas; he had subdued the whole earth, had brought all its princes under his authority, and virtuously cherished his subjects, as if they had been his own children. In his reign there was neither famine, nor sickness, nor untimely death, nor any iniquity, nor departure from the precepts of religion. Whilst he was thus governing his kingdom, agreeably to the duties of his regal caste, all his people came to him and called upon him to preserve them. They said, 'Lo, into our houses a female Rákshas named Duńdhá enters, both by day and by night, and forcibly afflicts our children, and she cannot be driven out either by charmed bracelets, or by water, or by seeds of mustard, or by holy teachers skilful in exorcisms. Such, oh king! as we have related, is the story of Duńdhá.'

"When the king heard these things, he consulted the Muni Nárada. The Muni replied: 'I will tell you by what means the fiend is to be destroyed. This day is the fifteenth of the light fortnight of Phálguna; the cold season has departed, the warm weather will commence with dawn. Chief of men! let the assurance of safety be this day given to your people, and let them, freed from terror, laugh and sport; let the children go forth rejoicing, like soldiers delighted to go to battle, equipped with wooden swords. Let also a pile of dry wood and stones be prepared, and let it be lighted according to rule, while incantations are recited destructive of wicked fiends. Then let the people, fearless, thrice circumambulate the fire, exclaiming, 'Kila, kila!' and clapping their hands; and let them sing and laugh, and let every one utter, without fear, whatever comes into his mind. In various ways, and in their own speech, let them freely indulge their tongues, and sing and sing again a thousand times, whatever songs they will. Appalled by those vociferations, by the oblation to fire, and by the loud laughter (attahása) of the children, that wicked Rákshasí shall be destroyed, and thenceforth the festival of the Holiká shall be renowned among mankind. Inasmuch as the oblation to fire (homa), offered by the Brahmans upon this day, effaces sin and confers peace upon the world (loka), therefore shall the day be called the Holiká; and inasmuch as the day of full moon comprises the essence of all lunations, so from its intrinsic excellence is Phálguna the bestower of universal happiness. On this day, upon the approach of evening, children should be detained at home; and into the court-yard of the house, smeared with cowdung, let the master of the house invite many men, mostly youths, having wooden swords in their hands: with these they shall touch the children, with songs and laughter, and thus preserving them, shall be entertained with boiled rice and sugar. Thus Duńdhá is to be got rid

of at the hour of sunset, and by this means the safety of children is ensured on the approach of night.' "

The same authority describes a domestic ceremony to be held on the following morning, when offerings are to be made to a water-jar, as a type of Vishńu; and presents are to be given to bards, singers, and Brahmans. The observance of this secures the enjoyment of all desires, and the continuation of life, wealth, and posterity.

Of the songs that are sung at this season, the character is generally said to be highly exceptionable. All that I have had an opportunity of seeing are characterised by little else than insipidity; they are short, seldom exceeding two or three stanzas, the first of which is repeated as a sort of refrain or burden, and the whole song is sung da capo, over and over again. They are either praises of the month or allusions to the juvenile Krishńa, in connexion with the festival, and are supposed to be uttered by the female companions of his boyish frolics in Vrindávana. The following are a few of them:

I.

"Oh friend! proud as you are of your youth, be careful of your garments. The month of Phálguna fills with grief those whose lovers are far away. Oh friend! proud as you are of your youth," &c.

II.

"The month of Phálguna has arrived; I shall mingle with the crowd, and partake of the sports of the Hori. Oh friend! an hour of pleasure is worth a night of mortification. The month of Phálguna has arrived," &c.

III.

"I met on my way the lord of Vrindávana: how can I go to fetch water? If I ascend the roof, he pelts me with pellets of clay; if I go to the river, he sprinkles me over with red powder; if I repair to Gokul, he showers upon me tinted dust. Thus he drives me distracted. I met in the way the lord of Vrindávana."

IV.

"My beloved has sent me a letter to summon his bride home; I blush for my unworthiness. How can I repair to one who knows my imperfections? I blush for my unworthiness. The litter is prepared, but no female friend accompanies me. I blush for my unworthiness, now that my lover summons me home."

V.

"My boddice is wet through; who has thrown the tinted liquor upon me? It is Kanhaiya, the son of Nanda. It is the month of Phálguna. My boddice is wet through," &c.

VI.

"Oh lord of Vraj! gaily you sport to the merry sound of the tabor, and dance along with the nymphs of Vrindávana. Oh lord of Vraj!" &c.

The deviation from ancient times and practices which marks the recurrence of the Vernal Festival among the Hindus themselves, renders it far from surprising that we should fail to find an exact accordance, in all respects, between the Indian observance, as now followed, and that which has prevailed in other seasons and places, with respect to celebrations, the general purport and character of which present probable analogies. We have no right to look for a minute agreement, but it can scarcely be doubted, that there were festivals among the Romans, and that there are even yet observances in Europe which express a similar intention, and originated in the same feelings, and which are, possibly, as well as the Hindu Holi, reliques of what was once the universal method adopted by mankind to typify the genial influence of Spring upon both the inanimate and animated creation, and to express the passionate feelings inspired by the season, and the delight which the revival of nature diffused.

The season of Spring began with the Romans, as with the Hindus, as has been observed, early in the year, on the fifth of the Ides of February; between this and the middle of March different festivals occur, which exhibit some, though not very striking points of coincidence with the Holi.

It is clear, however, that their origin and character were not very well understood by the Romans themselves. Thus of the Lupercalia, when young men ran naked through the city, and married women placed themselves in their way to be struck by them as they passed with leather thongs, under an idea that they were to become prolific thereby, little seems to have been known, except that the festival was of foreign origin and high antiquity, and that it was referable to the rustic sports of the shepherds and cowherds, the Gopas of Arcadia. Again, of the Festum Stultorum, the accounts are meagre and by no means satisfactory. The Matronalia Festa, on the Kalends of March, were more intelligible, and had for their object the increase of progeny, in harmony with the foliation of the trees, the budding of the

grass, the pairing of birds, which were the effects of the season of Spring, and which are equally held in view in the celebration of the Holi, which is considered to be especially promotive of the multiplication of offspring, and preservative of the health and life of children. Another festival of the period, held on the fifteenth of March, is very imperfectly described, and still more imperfectly explained, the worship of the goddess Anna Perenna; a goddess identified with Themis, with Io, with Atlantis, with Luna, or with Anna, the sister of Dido. This was celebrated in the open air by country people with rustic sports, as drinking, singing, and dancing; and a remarkable and unaccountable part of the celebration was the use of ancient or vulgar jokes and obscene language, joci veteres obscœnaque dicta canuntur. Finally, on the sixteenth of the Kalends of April, or the seventeenth March, occurred the Liberalia, or Festival of Bacchus, of whom, in this place, Ovid makes a singular remark, possibly embodying an ancient tradition, that burnt-offerings and oblations originated with Bacchus after his conquest of India and the East.

> Ante tuos ortus ara sine honore fuere,
> Liber, et in gelidis herba reperta focis,
> Te memorant Ganga, totoque oriente subacto,
> Primitias magno seposuisse Jovi.—Fasti III., 726—30.

The character of these festival days in the Roman Calendar, and the period during which they took place, suggest probable analogies to the practices of the Hindus at the same season. The analogies are, it is true, very general and unprecise, but to use the words of Brand, "in joining the scattered fragments that survive the mutilation of ancient customs, we must be forgiven if all the parts are not found closely to agree. Little of the means of information have been transmitted to us, and that little can only be eked out by conjecture." Nothing can be more meagre than the Fasti of Ovid in respect to the celebrations above adverted to, and it is obvious that some of them, at least, had become obselete, even in his day, and that he knew little concerning their origin, or their mode of observance[1]; yet little doubt can be entertained that their influence is traceable in practices which are to be found about this time of the year in several of the nations of Europe, particularly in the Carnival and in the day of All Fools.

[1] That this was by no means singular is plain, from the admission of Macrobius, which he puts into the mouths of two of his interlocutors, Horus and Vettius.—1 Saturn. cap. XV.

The Carnival is derived, according to Moresin, from the times of Gentilism, and he quotes Joannes Boemus Aubanus for an account of the extravagancies and indecencies with which it was formerly observed in Germany, that identify its affinity to the Lupercal on the one hand, and, as we should say, the Holi on the other. On the three days preceding Lent he observes[1], "the whole of Germany eats and drinks and gives itself up to jokes and sports, as if there was not another day to live, and people wear disguises and masks, or stain their faces and vestures with red and black paint, or run about naked like the Luperci, from whom, I think, this annual exhibition of insanity has descended to us."

The practices of the Carnival, as now observed in Italy, have been trimmed of their excesses, but even in them there remain vestiges which denote their community of origin with the Holi of the Hindus. The time properly embraces the whole period from the beginning of the year[2], but as in the festival of Phálguna, the last few days are those on which the principal demonstrations take place, and in the licence which is permitted both in speech and conduct, the wearing of masks and disguises, the reciprocal pelting with real or with mock

[1] Quo item modo tres præcedentes quadragesimale jejunium dies peragat, dicere opus non erit, si cognoscatur qua populari qua spontanea insania cætera Germania, a qua et Franconia minime desciscit, vivat, comedit enim et bibit, seque ludo jocoque omnimodo adeo dedit, quasi usus nunquam veniant, quasi cras moritura hodie prius omnium rerum satietatem capere velit; atque ne pudor obstet qui se ludicro illi committunt, facies larvis obducunt, sexum et ætatem mentientes, viri mulierum vestimenta, mulieres virorum induunt. Quidam Satyros aut malos demones potius repræsentare volentes, minio se aut atramento tingunt; habituque nefando deturpant; alii nudi discurrentes Lupercos agunt, a quibus ego annuum istum delirandi morem ad nos defluxisse existimo.

Naogeorgus, in his description, has a variety of passages as applicable to the Holi as the Carnival:—

Then old and young are both as much as guests of Bacchus' feast;
And four days long they tipple, square, and feede, and never rest.
——— feare and shame away;
The tongue is set at libertie, and hath no kind of stay.
All things are lawfull then and done, no pleasure passed by,
That in their minds they can devise, as if they then should die.

He also speaks of the nudity of some of the revellers, an indecency of which even the Holi players are never guilty:—

Some naked runne about the streets, their faces hid alone
With visors close, that so disguised they may of none be knowne,

and of the insults to which decent people were subjected,—

No matron old, nor sober man can freely by them come.

[2] According to Spalding, the Carnival is supposed to begin from New Year's Day. Matthews says it lasts eight days, with intervals, before Lent.

comfits, and in some places sprinkling with water or throwing powder over each other, obvious analogies exist[1].

There is another practice which presents also a parallel, the extinguishing of the Carnival. This, in Italy, is refined into frolicsome attempts to blow out each other's lighted candles; but the notion appears to be the same as the burning of the Holi, the lighting and extinction of the bonfire, and scattering of the ashes.

There is another of the usages of the Holi which finds a parallel in modern times, although at a somewhat later period. It is mentioned by Colonel Pearce, that one subject of diversion during the Holi, is to send people on errands and expeditions that are to end in disappointment, and raise a laugh at the expence of the person sent. He adds that, Sura-ad-dowla, the Nawab of Bengal, of Black Hole celebrity, was very fond of making Holi Fools[2]. The identity of this practice with making April Fools as noticed by Colonel Pearce, is concurred in by Maurice, who remarks, "that the boundless hilarity and jocund sports, prevalent on the 1st day of April in England, and during the Holi Festival in India, have their origin in the ancient practice of celebrating, with festival rites, the period of the vernal equinox, when the new year of Persia anciently began."

There was a Festum Stultorum about this period amongst the Romans, the purport of which is not very clearly expressed, but some antiquaries have supposed that it constituted the original of the festivals of the Romish Church, the Festa Stultorum, Innocentium, and the like, the extravagances of the Abbot of Unreason, and the sleeveless errands of All Fools, or April Fool day. The periods at which these rude and boisterous manifestations of merriment took place were something different; but, as Brand observes, the crowded state of the Romish Calendar often led to the alteration of the days set apart for festivity, and in the case of the feast of Old or All Fools he quotes authority for its removal to the first of November from some other date, it being expressly stated in the calendar, Festum Stultorum veterum huc translatum est. The period, therefore, is little material —the identity of designation, and similarity of practice render it not unlikely that the day of All Fools had originally something in common with the Festum Stultorum and with the Holi.

[1] Amongst the Portuguese the practices on the Sunday and Monday preceding Lent, as on the first of April in England, people are privileged here (Lisbon) to play the fool. It is thought very jocose to pour water on any person who passes, or throw powder in his face, but to do both is the perfection of wit.—Southey's Letters.

[2] Asiatic Researches, Vol. II., page 334.

Bu'rwa Mangal.—On the first Tuesday after the Holi, a supplementary repetition of it is held at Benares, with sundry modifications of a not uninteresting description. An account of the festival has been given by the late Mr. J. Prinsep, in his valuable views of Benares, and I had also an opportunity of witnessing its observance. During the day the people go in crowds to a place called Durgá kuńda, a large tank and temple dedicated to Durgá, who is worshipped on this occasion. Although there are no regular processions, yet horses and elephants, gaily caparisoned, are plentifully scattered amongst the throng, and the garden walls along the road are crowded with spectators. Strolling actors, disguised as religious mendicants, or as individuals of inferior caste, both male and female, mingle with the crowd, and divert them with singing and dancing and absurd buffoonery. Sometimes different parties oppose each other in a contest of poetical improvisation. In the evening, the more opulent inhabitants of Benares embark on board boats fitted up for the occasion with platforms and awnings, and parade up and down the river throughout the night, having with them bands of musicians, and singers, and dancing girls. When the evening is advanced, the pinnace of the Raja of Benares moves from his residence at Ramnagar, and slowly descends the stream, followed by other boats, lighted up, and displaying fireworks from time to time, until they take their station off one of the principal ghâts. The boats on the river are also illuminated, and are rowed up and down the stream, accompanied by numerous lesser craft selling refreshments, or bearing less wealthy amateurs to catch the strains of some popular songstress. The shore is thronged with people, and discharges of fireworks, with the river pageantry, amuse them until the end of the night. At day break they are again clustered along the magnificent ghâts of Benares, and by their numbers, their order, their diversified and many tinted costumes, in harmony with the elegant architecture of the surrounding edifices, the broad river, and the unclouded sky, present a picture of singular richness, gracefulness, animation, and beauty.

Upon the occasion on which I witnessed this festival, the Raja, on the morning, received the visits of the Governor-General's agent, Mr. Brooke, and other European gentlemen of the station. They were entertained as usual with naching, but upon taking leave, in addition to the ordinary aspersion of rose-water, which was bestowed so copiously as to amount to a ducking, the guests were pelted with rose-leaves, immense trays of which were brought in for the purpose. The attack was retaliated by a shower of the same missiles, which have at

least the character of greater refinement than the confitti di gesso, the plaster of Paris pellets of the Carnival.

According to Mr. Prinsep, the ceremony originated with Zemindar Bukwant Sing, the father of Raja Chait Sing, who adopted the celebration of the Holi on the river, for the gratification of Mir Rustam Ali, the Mohammedan Governor of the province, who had a house on the river-side. As he observes, however, the name Búrwa, old, indicates higher antiquity.

[*To be continued.*]

NOTES ON THE SABHÁ PARVA OF THE MAHÁBHÁRATA,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF SOME ANCIENT USAGES AND ARTICLES OF TRAFFIC OF THE HINDUS.

BY PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON.

THE subject of the Sanskrit poem called the Mahábhárata is well known to be the struggle for supremacy between two kindred and rival families, those of Pándu and Kuru. The event is in all probability historically true, and the circumstances related in the poem, however blended with fiction and coloured by mythology, are in many instances likely to be substantially authentic. It is, however, in the episodical portions with which the poem abounds, that information of a curious and no doubt, in the main, correct description, relating to the social and political state of India, at periods considerably anterior to the Christian æra, is to be found. The information, it is true, is of a mixed character, as might be expected in a professedly poetical composition, and in a work which has very possibly been from time to time corrupted by comparatively modern interpolation. Still there is much that wears the semblance of accuracy and antiquity, as in the instances which I propose to bring to the observation of the Society.

The second book of the Mahábhárata is entitled the Sabhá or the Palace, and narrates the transactions that took place at the palace of Yudhishthira, the eldest of the Pándu princes, in consequence of his claim to be acknowledged paramount monarch, and his celebration of the Rájasúya sacrifice; a privilege and proof of such exalted rank having been attained.

As, preparatory to the pretensions of Yudhishthira, his brothers depart in various directions to compel the princes of India to recognise his title and pay him tribute, the details of their incursions are full of interesting notices of the geographical and political divisions of India, but it is unnecessary to expatiate upon them at present, as they have been made ample use of in the full and important investigations of Professor Lassen, published in the Gottingen Oriental Journal. It is sufficient to remark that the conquests of the Pándu princes bear the same character that has commonly attended the military operations of Indian states, in which, even when successful, the total subversion of the subjugated principality by no means followed its subjugation; and the victor usually contented himself with present plunder and nominal future submission. Both the Mogul and

the Marhatta have been satisfied to levy such tribute as they could exact from the Rájput princes, and to leave them in the possession of their hereditary dominions. The like supremacy is the only one perhaps ever enjoyed by their Hindu predecessors, and although at times the supremacy of some one prince may have been widely admitted in terms, or even by the more palpable evidence of presents or of tributary payments, yet there is no reason to believe that any one monarch ever exercised more real authority over all India, than is here attributed by the author of the Mahábhárata to Yudhishthira.

The military progresses of his brothers being attended with complete success, and his kinsmen, notwithstanding their jealousy, acquiescing in his claim, Krishna also, his great friend and ally, concurring warmly in the proposed ceremony, Yudhishthira issues his commands to his ministers and priests to make the requisite arrangements for the ceremony, and to invite guests from all quarters, The preparations are described in very extravagant style. Of course the principal guests are Brahmans and Warriors; but it is worthy of remark, that the invitations are extended to respectable Vaisyas, and to Sudras universally; the agricultural and servile classes thus having their due consideration even at a ceremonial of a religious as well as of a political tendency. This is one of the numerous indications which the Mahábhárata offers of a state of public feeling and possibly of civil institutions which seems to have preceded even the laws of Manu. The poem, however, so far conforms to received opinions that at the actual sacrifice no Sudras, it is said, were present. It is not impossible, however, that the passage so excluding them, belongs to a later æra. In all other respects no difference is specified, and food, dwellings, and entertainments, are provided for all the castes without any distinction.

The poem does not contain any detailed description of the solemnity. Oblations are made to the gods as usual, and the rites are conducted and prayers recited by the most eminent of the traditional teachers of the Hindus, particularly by Vyása and his disciples—the founders very possibly of a school that first gave consistency to the system of the Vedas in the time of the Pándava sovereignty. The essential part of the ceremony is the unction, or more properly sprinkling (abhisheka), of Yudhishthira with water from sacred streams, which is said in one place to have been performed by Dhaumya, the family priest, assisted by Vyasa and other sages; and in another by Krishna. Kindred and tributary princes discharge various offices both before and at the consecration, not quite of so

servile an order perhaps as prevailed in the feudal times of the west, and of which our language still preserves so many vestiges, but still of a subordinate description. Thus, Duhsásana, one of the Kuru princes, superintends the distribution of food. Asvatthâman, a warrior Brahman of saintly descent, acts as chamberlain for the Brahmans, and Sanjaya the charioteer of Dhritaráshtra is master of ceremonies to the regal and military guests. Bhíshma, the great uncle of Yudhishthira, and Drona, a sage and his instructor in arms, act as judges and umpires to correct whatever may happen amiss. Kripa, another saintly personage, examines and distributes the money and jewels to be given as presents. Vidura, the prince's uncle, is cashier, and Duryodhana, the eldest of the rival family of Kuru, and the most inveterate enemy of the Pándava princes, is appointed to receive the articles brought as tribute or presents by the different tribes and princes. Krishna, demigod though he be, volunteers to wash the feet of the Brahmans.

At the season of inauguration the duties assigned to the several chiefs and princes are of a more personal and martial description Bahlíka, king of Balkh, presents and guides a war chariot inlaid with gold. Sudakshina, king of the Kámbojas, harnesses to it white Kámboja horses. Sunítha attends to the step or fender of the car. The king of Chedi holds the banner. The king of the South bears the armour. The sovereign of Magadha the turban and wreath. Vasudána brings the royal elephant. The king of Matsya the baggage-waggon. Ekalavya holds the slippers. The ruler of Avantí bears the water for the inauguration. Chekitána carries the quiver. The prince of Kásí the bow. Salya, king of Madra, holds the sword. Sátyaki, a prince of the Yadu tribe, raises the umbrella. The two eldest brothers of Yudhishthira attend upon him with fans or punkas, and his two youngest brothers wave the chowries over him. Krishna, as above noticed, pours the holy water upon him from a sacred conch-shell. We have here, therefore, a description of duties and of paraphernalia, still to be witnessed at the courts of some of the native potentates of India.

It is, however, in the accounts given of the articles brought as tribute, that some of the most curious passages of this section of the Mahábhárata occur. That the things presented are in all cases accurately appropriated to the people by whom they are offered, or to the countries whence they are derived, cannot be positively affirmed. It is very likely that the author of the passage was himself imperfectly informed in some cases, and that he was not very

careful in any, to be unexceptionably correct. In some instances, however, it is possible to verify his statements, and that we cannot extend the verification to others is also, in part at least, to be ascribed to our own want of an intimate knowledge of the countries adjacent to India, and of their natural or artificial productions.

The people of Kámboja, it is said, brought cloths and skins; the former were made of wool, and embroidered with gold, being in fact shawls and brocades; the latter were the skins of animals that live in holes, and of wild cats, intending probably furs of varieties of the marten and weasel families. The Kámbojas also presented horses, said to be partridge-spotted and parrot-nosed, and camels and mules.

The Kámbojas are a people of whom frequent mention is made in Sanskrit writings. Their precise situation, however, is not defined; they are placed amongst the Mlechchas, or barbarous tribes of the north-west, and commonly classed with Sakas, Daradas, Húnas, and the like[1]: as in the Vishnu Purana, it is said of Sagara, that he threatened to destroy the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Kámbojas, Páradas, and Pahnavas[2]. Colonel Wilford placed the Kámbojas in Arachosia, but they seem to have been situated more to the north, as after subduing them king Lalitáditya is said in the chronicles of Kashmir to have proceeded against Bokhara. From this, as well as the articles they are described as offering, it seems likely that they occupied the Paropamisan mountains, and the plains to the northward, which are still famous for their breeds of horses. Whether these are characterized by any peculiarity of colour, and by convex or aquiline profiles, I have not had an opportunity of inquiring. The tribe may perhaps have subsequently extended to the east, as we find traces of the name in the Hindu Kush, a part of the Kafirs bearing the appellation of Kaumojees, which we can scarcely doubt to represent the ancient denomination of Kámbojas.

In this and in succeeding instances, furs and skins make a conspicuous figure amongst the presents; articles we should have thought little in request amongst the Hindus, whether we consider the climate or their prejudices. That they did wear dresses of skins, however, we know from unquestionable authority; as Manu prescribes the skins of various kinds of deer, for the upper garment of the religious student of each of the three first castes. Perhaps this kind of costume supplies grounds for an inference in confirmation of the northern origin of the Brahmanical Hindus.

[1] Vishnu Purána, 194. [2] Ibid. 374, n.

"The people of Maru Kachha brought horses born in the Gandhára country."

There is no difficulty of verification here. Kachha is any frontier country bordering on the sea, and Maru is any arid tract of country. We have here, therefore, no doubt the people of Kutch and Sindh, amongst whom it is well known a powerful breed of horses is reared, originating, it would appear from this passage, in the districts somewhat more to the north, or towards Kelat and Candahar.

Next to these came tribes described as subsisting upon rice growing independently of irrigation, and dwelling on the sea shore, and along the Indus. They are called Vairámas, Abhíras, Páradas, and Kitavas; amongst whom we recognise the Abhíras as the Abhirs or Ahírs still of Guzerat, and the people of the Abiria of Ptolemy, in a similar locality. Their tribute consisted of goats, sheep, oxen, asses, camels, honey the produce of fruits, and blankets of various manufacture. The cattle of Guzerat, it is well known, are still remarkable for size and beauty. What particular product is meant by the fruit-generated honey, as distinguished from that produced by bees, I am not able to specify; some saccharine extract or exudation is probably intended.

"The sovereign of Prágjyotísh, the mighty monarch of the barbarians, Bhagadatta, along with the Yavanas, brought Ajaneya horses, vessels of iron, and swords with hilts of ivory."

Prágjyotísh as synonymous with Kámarúpa is usually identified with Asam, but as connected with the Yavanas it must be looked for to the west, not to the east. Professor Lassen has discussed its position at some length, but without coming to anything more than the general conclusion that it must have been to the north of the Himálaya, and agreeably to some notices, bordering upon Tibet. The articles presented by the king do not enable us to identify its locality. The horses it has in common with other trans-Indian districts. Iron vessels are made (Moorcroft says cast) at Fyzadad in *Badakshan*. Whether ivory sword-hilts are fabricated in the same direction, remains to be determined.

We next have tribute brought by monstrous and deformed races, such as men with one foot, with a third eye, and the like; the prototypes of similar races described by Ctesias and Herodotus as inhabitants of the countries to the north of India, and originating probably in the uncouth and squalid appearance of the barbarous tribes of the mountains. They bring asses with black necks and large bodies from the banks of the Vankshu river; a name, it may be

observed, not unfrequently read Chakshu, or Chakshus, and considered with some probability to be the Oxus, as it is a river running to the west, and rising on the north of the Himálaya. They bring also silver and gold, and wild horses of various colours. Asses and horses, wild and in great numbers, are still known to rove at large over the central table-land of Asia, migrating from north to south, according to the season.

Other mountain tribes, together with Sakas, Tukháras, and Kankas, brought cloths of various kinds, not made of cotton, but of the wool of sheep and goats, or of thread spun by worms, or of patta (vegetable fibres or hemp), or made by machinery (woven ?); also soft sheep skins, long and sharp swords, javelins, spears, hatchets made in the west, battle-axes, also drugs and gums of various kinds, and precious stones.

The Sakas we know are the Sacæ or Scythians, who, according to both Greek and Indian geographers, occupied from the earliest times the countries east of Turkestan, and between the Jaxartes and Oxus, as Ferghana, Durwaz, Hissar, down to Kunduz and Badakshan. The Tukháras no doubt gave their name to the Tokharestan of the Mohammedans. The other races alluded to are of course in the same vicinity. That some of the nations in this situation had early acquired considerable skill in manufactures is confirmed by the Chinese writers. The people of Kipin, the Tiao-chi, and the Asi tribes, conterminous with Sogdiana and Bactriana, are described as "an industrious race, who are skilful in architecture and sculpture, in weaving and embroidery, in the fabrication of vessels of gold, silver, copper, and tin. The country produces cattle with humps, buffaloes, elephants, dogs, monkeys, and peacocks; precious stones, coral, amber, rock crystal, and glass. The land is fertile in grain, rice, legumes, and produces cinnabar, balm of Mecca, tsing tai, tsing mou, and other fragrant substances; also rock-honey, black salt, assafœtida, and myrrh[1];" particulars that harmonize completely with the specification of the tribute offered by these trans-Himalayan nations to Yudhishthira. The Chinese descriptions refer to the middle of the second century before the Christian æra; a date which there is every reason to believe approaches that of the composition of the greater portion of the Mahábhárata.

The princes of the eastern tribes brought large elephants and horses, and much gold and curiously-wrought seats and litters, and beds made of ivory and inlaid with gold and jewels; also suits of

[1] Nouv. Mélanges, i. 211.

armour, weapons of various kinds, war-chariots hung with tiger-skins and decorated with gold, different sorts of arrows, and housings for elephants.

Who are meant by the princes of the East is undeterminable, and whether restricted to India Proper, or carried beyond its boundaries, is doubtful. In the latter case China might supply the fabrics specified, but they might also be furnished by the people to the south-west of Indraprastha, ancient Delhi, the capital of Yudhishthira, by the skill of the people of Benares, Behar, and Upper Bengal.

One of the most remarkable passages of this description next ensues, and explains, most satisfactorily, the origin of the extravagant fables related by Greek writers, respecting the gold-making ants of the auriferous deserts of Northern India. It is said that "the people who dwell under the pleasant shade of the Kíchaka-vénus, a kind of willows, and along the Sailodá river, between the Meru and Mandara mountains, who are called Khasas, Pradaras, Páradas, Ekásanas, Arkas, Kulindas, Tanganas, and Paratanganas, brought to Yudhishthira lumps of gold a dróna in weight, of the sort called paippílika, that is to say, ant-gold; which is so denominated because it is exfodiated by pippílikas, that is, by the common large ant." We have here the expression of a belief which we know to be prior by more than five centuries to the Christian æra, and which, however erroneous, was neither very extravagant nor irrational. This simple and archaic notion, however, was perverted by the credulity of writers and misrepresentations of travellers, until in the form in which it reached Asia Minor, it had grown into a monstrous and incredible absurdity. The scene in which this ant-gold is found is the same generally as that inferred from the Greek writers, the country between the Himálaya and Kuen-lun ranges, towards Tibet; which ranges the semi-fabulous mountains of Meru and Mandara represent. The names of the tribes commonly occur as those of barbarian mountaineers; and that *their* country is intended, as here intimated, is confirmed by the other articles which accompany the ant-gold; drugs, dried flowers, honey from the fruits of the Himálaya (a sort of sugar, perhaps, like that made in Turkestan from grapes), honey and wax made by bees, and yaks, the chowrie-tailed cow, with tails either white or black, a variety that has a real existence in the countries where the yak is native, and which are those between the Himálaya and Tibet.

Again, in the eastern portion of the Himálaya, the people from the banks of the Lauhitya river bring sandal wood, agallochum, the

fragrant wood called kálíyaka, skins, female slaves, curious foreign birds and beasts, and gold collected in the mountains.

These are the principal details. There are other tributes of a more general nature, but in some instances faithfully characteristic of the countries whence they are said to come: thus the people of Banga, Pundraka, and Kalinga, that is, of Lower Bengal, Midnapur, and Ganjam, presented elephants with large tusks and rich caparisons; the people of Chola and Pándya, or the Carnatic and Mysore, offer sandal ointment in vases of gold, aloe-wood, sandal-wood, fine linen, and precious stones; and the natives of Sinhalá or Ceylon, brought the gem vaidúrya, which is the product of the sea (perhaps coral), elephant housings, and heaps of pearls.

Such are the principal details found in the Sabhá section of the Mahábhárata, regarding the articles, the products of nature and art, which are offered as presents to Yudhishthira, by the nations bordering upon the country of the Hindus, especially by those inhabiting the mountains on the north and north-east of India, and the regions immediately beyond them; and however concise and imperfect they may be, and although they are the notices of a poetical, not of a statistical writer, yet they furnish some interesting information regarding the state of trade and manufactures in Central Asia, at a remote æra. A comparison between the Hindu and the classical accounts shows clearly that they both refer to a similar period, and as the latter, beginning with Herodotus, are as remote as the fifth century before our æra, the former must be still more ancient. They assumed their present shape very probably somewhat later; but the substance is old, whatever may be the period of the form, and we may venture to conclude from the premises thus furnished, that prior to the fifth century before Christ, an active commerce was carried on between India and its neighbours, in which the former was supplied with the precious metals, with gems, with aromatics and drugs, with manufactured skins, furs, brocades, woollen and silk cloths, with arms and armour, and various fabrics of iron, wood, and ivory; in return, no doubt, for its staples of rice, cotton, sugar, salt, and for those cotton manufactures which, after a triumphant career of nearly three thousand years, have been in our days utterly annihilated by the power of steam.

SUMMARY ACCOUNT

OF THE

CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS OF THE SIKHS.

BY

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, *Director R. A. S.*

THERE have arisen from time to time among what are considered the unlearned classes of the people of India thoughtful and benevolent individuals, who have felt dissatisfied with the religious practices of their countrymen, and with the distinctions of caste and creed by which they are disunited. They have attempted, accordingly, to reform these defects, and to reduce the existing systems of belief to a few simple elements of faith and worship in which the Brahman and the Súdra, the Mohammedan and Hindu might cordially combine, and from which they might learn to lay aside their uncharitable feelings towards each other.

Although not professing to be deeply versed with the sacred literature of either sect, with the Vedas or the Koran, the Indian reformers have been in general men of respectable attainments, and have been well grounded in the speculative tenets of the two systems which they have sought to amalgamate. Retaining the doctrine of transmigration, they have grafted upon it a philosophy compounded of the Vedanta principle of emanation, or the origin of individual soul from one great pure universal spirit to which the detached portions pine to return, and of the Sufyism of the Mohammedans, in which the language of passion is substituted for that of dogmatism, and the human soul and the divine spirit are typified as the lover and the beloved. These doctrines have been clothed by the reformers alluded to in a popular dress; they have been set forth in short metrical compositions —odes, or hymns, or songs—always in the vernacular dialects, and written in a style addressed to the imagination and feelings of the common people. These are usually chaunted to simple melodies, and even where they have not effected any change of opinion, they have become extensively diffused and have exercised considerable influence over the national character. These compositions gradually accumulated, and preserved in collections of various extent, constitute the literature and the creed of a large portion of the agricultural population of Upper India.

The teacher whose instructions have exercised, although indirectly, the most durable influence upon any considerable body, and aided by

political events, have tended to form a nation out of a sect, is Bábá Nának, or Nának Sháh, the nominal founder of the religion and nation of the Sikhs. He was born in 1469, at a village now known as Dehra[1], or the 'village,' on the Ravi, about thirty kos from Lahore, and is said to have been at first engaged in trade as a dealer in grain, but to have exchanged in mature age worldly pursuits for a life of meditation and religious instruction. The Punjab was at that time subject to the Pathan Sovereign of Delhi, Behlol Lodi; but then, as now, the lands were distributed chiefly among Hindu chiefs, who united the character of landlord and ruler, as rayas or rajas, over districts of different dimensions, paying revenue and rendering military service to the Mohammedan governors. One of these rayas took Nának under his patronage, and enabled him to disseminate his doctrines without hindrance or danger. According to the legendary biography of Nának, he was a great traveller, traversing not only India but visiting Mecca and Medina, working miracles on his journeys and making numerous proselytes. There is probably little truth in his Arabian peregrinations, although it was consistent with his religious character to have spent some time in wandering over Hindustan, and visiting the places held sacred in the estimation of the Hindus. It is most likely, however, that he passed the greater part of his days in the Punjab, endeavouring to inculcate his views among his neighbours and countrymen; several of whom, no doubt, adopted his notions; becoming, as the term *Sikh* implies, his disciples; the word being the provincial articulation of the Sanscrit word Sishya, a scholar or disciple, the sibilant, sh, being invariably pronounced, kh, in the western provinces. From those disciples he organised a communion, the superintendance of which he bequeathed to one of his principal pupils, named Angada, establishing a sort of hierarchy, to which perhaps it was owing that his followers were kept together as a distinct body. The successor of Angada, Amara Dás, became possessed of some temporal power, and built the fort of Kajaráwal. It would appear, however, that secular aggrandisement was not regarded as altogether orthodox, and the Sikhs who restricted their views to purely religious objects, separated from Amara Dás and attached themselves to Dharmchand, the grandson of Nának, as their 'Guru' or spiritual head. They then became known as Udásis, or persons estranged from worldly hopes or fears, or as 'Nirmalas,' individuals free from soil or sin. It is chiefly from these classes of Sikhs, the Udásis, and Nirmalas, that teachers of the theism

[1] Major Leech, J.A.S.B., No. 162, 1845; (but, query) if it is not the same as Kirtípur Dehra his burial place. Malcolm, As. Res. XI., 207. Malcolm calls his birth place Talwandi, or Rayapur, on the Beyah.

of Nának are to be found in almost every considerable city of Hindustan, sometimes singly or sometimes assembled in Sangats or convents. They have nothing of a political or military character, but devote their time to daily prayers and observances addressed chiefly to the memory of Nának and the perusal and adoration of the sacred volume which contains illustrations of his doctrines by various hands, in different dialects of Punjabi and Hindi.

This exposition of the Sikh faith, if anything so vague deserves the appellation of a faith, is known as the Adi Granth, the 'First Book' to distinguish it from another scriptural authority of the Sikhs of a later date. It is a large volume but contains no systematic exposition of doctrines—no condensed creed—no rules for ritual observances. It is an unconnected compilation of verses of a mystical or a moral purport, ascribed mostly to Nának, but comprehending the writings of other persons, many of whom had nothing in common with Nának, except a general accordance in a sort of spiritual quietism and the acknowledgment of one divine cause and essence of all things. The Adi Granth was put together by Arjunmal—the fourth Sikh Guru or pontiff in descent from Nának—who flourished in the reign of Jehangir, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The bulk of the materials are attributed to the predecessors of Arjunmal, but it is admitted that thirteen other persons contributed to its contents—or, as the Sikhs say, twelve and a-half, intending, most ungallantly, by the half, a female author. The copies of the Adi Granth, however, found in different parts of India, vary considerably as to the subordinate contributors; the greater number of the poems bear the name of Nának, but the rest are by different hands, as Kabir, Sheikh Ferid-ad-din, Rámánand, Mira Bai, and other well known sectarian or Vaishnava teachers. The following are specimens of the poems ascribed to Nának:

My holy teacher is he who teaches clemency;
The heart is awake within, who seeks may find.
Wonderful is that rosary, every bead of which is the breath;
Lying apart on its recess it knows what will come to pass:
The sage is he who is merciful, the merciless is a butcher.
Thou wieldest the knife, and recklessly exclaimest,—
"What is a goat? What is a cow? What are animals?"
But the Sahib declares that the blood of all is one:
Saints, prophets, seers, have passed away in death;
Nának, destroy not life for the preservation of the body.

Again—

Love and fix thy whole heart upon him,
The world is bound to thee by prosperity:

While it endures many will come and sit with thee and surround thee;
But in adversity they will fly, and no one will be nigh thee:
The woman of the house who loves thee, and is ever in thy bosom,
When the spirit quits the body will fly with alarm from the dead.
Such is the way of the world;
The frailty of human affections.
Do thou, Nának, at thy last hour, rely alone upon Hari.

Or again—

Thou art the Lord, to thee be praise;
All life is with thee:
Thou art my parents; I am thy child;
All happiness is from thy mercy:
No one knows thy end.
Highest Lord among the highest,
Of all that is Thou art the regulator,
And all that is from thee obeys thy will,
Thy movements, thy pleasure: thou alone knowest
Nának, thy slave, is a free-will offering unto thee.

Under the tolerant reigns of the first princes of the house of Timur the propagators of the doctrines of Nának were unmolested, and seem to have risen rapidly in temporal as well as spiritual consideration. Rámdás, the third Guru, enjoyed the favour of Akbar, and settled himself in an ancient city in the Punjab, which he so much enlarged and improved that it was called after him Rámdáspur. Among his improvements was the construction of a large tank which was called by the people the lake of Ambrosia or Amrit-sar, and this has, in modern times, given its designation and sanctity to the town so denominated, Amritsar. The wealth and consequence attained by the Sikh Gurus had, however, the effect of drawing upon them the jealousy and persecution of the Mohammedans, and Arjunmal, the fourth Guru after Nának, was seized and thrown into prison, where he either died or was put to death. The act was resented by the Sikhs of the province, who took up arms under Har Govind, the son of Arjun, and exacted vengeance from all whom they regarded as hostile to their religion. Their rising, however, seems to have been regarded as a mere local disturbance, involving no political crisis, much less as indicating the future developement of an independent state.

This persecuting spirit continued through several successions of Sikh Gurus, and in some cases, it might be more correctly termed retribution, for the Sikhs, dispossessed of their acquisitions or inheritance in the plains, and compelled to secrete themselves in the hills, collected into bands of plunderers and robbers, and by their depredations provoked the fate they suffered. Dissensions among

themselves also exposed them to the cruelty of their Mohammedan governors, and their ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, was publicly put to death in 1675, according to the Sikh authorities, at the instigation of a competitor for the Guruship—according to the Mohammedan writers, however, he was executed for his offences against the law by a life of predatory violence—at his death the Sikhs had almost disappeared except as a few inoffensive sectarians, or as scattered gangs of banditti.

The succession of the son of Tegh Bahadur—Guru Govind—constitutes the most important era in the political progress of the Sikhs. He, in fact, changed the whole character of the community, and converted the Sikhs of Nának, the disciples of a religion of spirituality and benevolence, and professors of a faith of peace and good will, into an armed confederacy, a military republic. The worship of "steel" was combined with that of the "book," and instead of attempting to unite Mohammedans and Hindus into one family fraternity, he made his disciples vow implacable hatred to the followers of Mohammed. He finally abrogated the distinction of caste, and opened his ranks to every description of persons, even to the very lowest Hindus, assigning to all his military adherents the name of Sinh —or lion—a term peculiar to the Rajput Hindus. His followers were enjoined always to have steel about their persons, to wear blue dresses, to let their hair grow, and to use as phrases of salutation, as a war cry, or as responses in prayers, the sentences; "Wah! Guru ji ka khalsa: Wah! Guru ji ka fatteh." "Hurra! for the unity of the Guru: Hurra! for the victory of the Guru;" expressions that have been since in use even among the more genuine descendants of Nának, the Udásis, and Nirmalas.

Guru Govind was an author as well as a soldier, and has left a record of his own exploits, in a work called the Vichitra Nátak, forming the first portion of a larger compilation which shares with the Adi Granth the reverence of the Sikhs. It is called the Dasama Padshah ka Granth, the Book of the 10th King, or more correctly speaking, Pontiff; and like the Adi Granth it is a compilation of contributions by various writers, but they are more of a martial and narrative than of a moral or speculative complexion. This as well as its predecessor, the Adi Granth, is composed chiefly in the Hindi dialect of the Punjab, written in the Gurumukhi character, a singular perversion of the Devanagari alphabet, retaining the forms but altering the sounds of the letters.

To Guru Govind also is ascribed the first attempt at the political organization of the Sikhs, by the institution of the Guru mata, or

federal council of chiefs, which assembled periodically at Amritsar, as long as the city was in the possession of the Sikhs, to consult on measures in which the community was interested, and to concert military operations whether offensive or defensive. It does not clearly appear of whom these councils were at first composed, but no doubt they were of a popular character, and every one who, through his hereditary landed property, or his influence in a village, or his reputation as a bold and fortunate leader, could command the following of a band of armed adherents, however few in number, was admissible to the conclave, and had a voice in its deliberations.

After making head for some years against the generals of Aurangzeb and the hill Rajas, whose enmity Guru Govind provoked by his indiscriminate ravages as much as by his religious tenets, he was reduced to great distress, and after the loss of his friends and his children became a solitary fugitive almost bereft of reason. Much obscurity hangs over the close of his career; but it seems probable that he was expelled from the Punjab by the Lieutenants of the Emperor and led the life of a mendicant wanderer: he is said to have been killed in the Dekhin in 170 .

Guru Govind was the last of the religious teachers, or Gurus, of the Sikhs, but the temporal command of his followers was assumed, after his death, by Banda, a bairagi, or religious mendicant, who inflicted a ferocious vengeance for the discomfiture and the death of his friend and teacher. The Sikhs rallied under Banda's guidance, defeated the Mohammedan governor of the province, took and demolished Sirhind, and crossing the Jumna spread desolation to Saharanpur, giving no quarter to the Mohammedans except on condition of their adopting the Sikh faith. Their progress was at last arrested by Abd-us-samad Khan, a general in the service of Farokhser. The Sikhs were completely routed and hunted from one stronghold to another until Banda and his most devoted followers who had been shut up in Lohgerh, a fort about 100 miles N.E. of Lahore, were compelled to surrender. According to some accounts they were sent to Delhi and put to death, with circumstances of great ignominy and cruelty; but there is a sect of Sikhs, called Banda-i, who believe that Banda escaped from the fort and settled in Sindh, where he died peaceably and left his sons to propagate his peculiar doctrines. These do not seem to have been of any essential importance, one of them being the abolition of the blue vesture—an innovation acceded to by the Sikhs in general, but stoutly resisted by the Akalis, a class of fanatics calling themselves Immortals, and who are are also known as Govind-sinhis, as being in a particular manner the disciples of Govind Sinh. These are still

distinguished by the blue colour of their garments and by carrying steel in the form of the chaki or discus always about their persons.

So rigorous a persecution of the Sikhs followed the defeat and death of Banda that they were almost exterminated in the plains. Some, however, again found refuge in the hills, and after a period of thirty years re-appeared amid the confusion which followed the invasion of Hindustan by Nadir Shah. Their necessities made them plunderers, and their policy suggested their forming fixed settlements by constructing forts, and compelling the cultivators to pay to them the government revenues. They were occasionally repressed by the energy of the viceroys of Lahore, but the distracted state of public affairs during the repeated incursions of Ahmed Shah of Kabul, was propitious to their growth in numbers and independence, and from this period they continued to gather strength and audacity, until they gradually established themselves in Sirhind and the eastern portion of the Punjab, between the Ravi and the Setlej. The death of Ahmed Shah, the dissensions among the Afghans on the one hand, and the total prostration of the sovereignty of Delhi on the other, enabled them to appropriate to themselves the resources of the country, to confirm their authority over the inhabitants, and to complete a kind of national organization.

The Sikh constitution grew naturally out of their political situation. During the period of recovery from the depression to which they had been reduced by the vigour of the Mohammedan officers, they issued from their retreats, for the sake of the plunder on which they depended for subsistence, in bodies of various strength under a leader who, from his personal character or his family influence, could gather a party round him. He was assisted by his relations, or by companions also enjoying consideration among the fugitives, and bringing contributions to the force of the leader. When they were successful the party remained located in the country which they had ravaged, and divided it among them; a larger portion of the conquered territory was set apart for the leader, but portions were distributed to every one who had taken a prominent share in the expedition. It might sometimes happen that the land itself, where left desolate and waste, constituted the allotments, but the usual plan was to leave the Rayats, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, unmolested, on consideration of their acknowledging allegiance and paying the government revenue to their new lords. In the fluctuating fortunes of the Punjab these lordships were at first of but ephemeral duration, but as some expired or were extinguished they were replaced by others, and some of them taking permanent root survived the dependencies

of the Mohammedan Governments, upon whose ruin they had risen. This was the origin of the various petty Sikh chiefships which, in the beginning of the present century, spread over the eastern portion of the Punjab, from the Jumna to the Ravi, comprising in their subjects different races both Mohammedan and Hindu, the hereditary occupants and actual cultivators of the soil who constituted, as they still constitute, the majority of the population[1].

The partition of the lands among the relatives and confederates of the leader led to another peculiarity in the Sikh constitution. The portions varied in extent and value according to the power and influence of each member of the confederacy, and the larger allotment as well as a predominating influence was assigned to the leader of the party; but each member of the confederacy, who considered that he had accompanied the leader as his friend and companion, claimed to exercise independent authority over his own share, and to be exempt from every kind of subordination or control. He was willing to be regarded as voluntarily connected with the chief, and with the other members of the original confederacy, and, in general, was prepared to make common cause with them, but he disdained to be fettered by any kind of allegiance either to an individual or the association. In this manner sprang up the several Misals, or voluntary associations of the Sikhs, acknowledging a common designation and a common head, and combining with each other on particular occasions, or in times of emergency to form the Guru mata, the national council or diet, in which every member of each Misal, however limited his resources, had an equal vote. Twelve such Misals existed in the palmy days of the Sikh confederacy; but those on the north and west of the Setlej were annihilated by the all devouring ambition of Runjit Sing, and those between the Setlej and the Jumna spontaneously dissolved under the protection of the British Government. The last general diet of the Sikhs was held in 1805, when the fugitive Holcar, and his pursuer Lord Lake, penetrated into the Punjab.

This notion of a unity of interests, or national identity among the Sikhs, as forming part also of a community of religion, was designated as the Khalsa, the Church Militant, if it might be so interpreted, for it expressed a vague notion of the Sikhs being under one spiritual guidance in temporal as well as spiritual affairs—a sort of abstract

[1] M. Jacquemont repeatedly observes that the Mohammedans and Hindus much outnumber the Sikhs. According to Captain Lawrence, the population of the Punjab may be loosely estimated at 1,500,000, of whom 750,000 are Hindus, 500,000 Mussulmans, and only 250,000 Sikhs. Captain Burnes made the population larger, but the proportions much the same.

theocracy. The term has since come to be applied to the temporal government alone, and the late Maharaja deposed Guru Govind, Nának, and the Supreme Being, whom the Sikhs professed to look up to, from even their abstract or typical participation in the Khalsa. At no time, indeed, was this imaginary unity so well maintained as by Runjit, whose elevation was in a great degree ascribable to the disunion which prevailed among the several Misals, and the conflicting pretensions of their members: a sketch of his rise will best illustrate the characteristics of the Sikh confederacy.

The first of the family of the late Maharaja Runjit Sing, of whom any record has been preserved, was a Ját farmer, whose patrimony it is said, consisted of three ploughs and a well. His son was a convert to the Sikh faith, and abandoning agriculture enlisted as a private horseman in the service of a Sikh chief. His son Charat Sing became a petty chief himself, and levied a small troop of horse with which he plundered the country. Being successful in his incursions he built a fort near Gajraoli, at no great distance from Lahore, and compelled the villages in the vicinity to pay to him the government assessments. The Afghan governor of Lahore attempted to dislodge him, but the Sikhs flocked to his succour in such numbers that the Afghan was glad to desist from the enterprise and shelter himself in Lahore. These events enabled Charat Sing to extend his acquisitions, and while reserving to himself the Sirdari portion he distributed among his principal associates the remainder of the districts whose revenues he had appropriated. He was thenceforward the head of a Misal, that of Sukar-chak, the name of the village in which his ancestors had resided. His Misal was one of the least considerable of the twelve, being able to send but 2500 horse into the field, while several of the others furnished 10,000 or 12,000.

The son and successor of Charat Sing, Maha Sing, distinguished himself by his military and political talents, and greatly extended the power of the confederacy of which he was the leader, although he died in 1792 at the early age of twenty-seven.

He was succeeded by his only son Runjit, then in his twelfth year, under the regency of his mother, but at the age of seventeen he put her to death for alleged misconduct, and assumed the direction of affairs. His resources were much improved by his marriage with the daughter of Sadá Kunwar, who had been left by her husband the regent of the Ghani Misal, whose possessions extended east of Lahore and included Amritsar. He became possessed also of the city of Lahore under a grant from Shah Zeman, the king of Kabul, on his retreat from the Punjab. The city, it is true, was not Shah

Zeman's to give, being in the actual occupation of three other Sikh Sirdars. The grant, however, was held to confer a title and had an influence with the Mohammedans, by whom Lahore was chiefly inhabited. Their ready assistance placed Runjit in possession of Lahore; important from its situation and extent, and still more from its ancient reputation as the capital of the vice-royalty of the Punjab.

It would be incompatible with the object of this sketch to follow Runjit through the steps by which he rose to the supremacy over the rest of the Sikh chiefs, and transformed an ill-defined and precarious combination of independant military leaders into a compact and despotic monarchy. His first great accession was the annexation of the Bhangi Misal, one of the most powerful of the whole, to his own, upon the death of the Sirdar, by the unjustifiable expulsion of the infant chief and his mother-regent. Taking advantage of hostilities with the Raja of Kahlur, Sansar Chand, he compelled various Sikh chiefs in the Jalandhar Doab to yield him allegiance and to pay him tribute, being assisted in his operations by the resources of the Ghani confederacy, under the direction of his mother-in-law, and by the Sikh Sirdar of Alu-wala, who became in early life and continued to be for many years his personal friend. These proceedings were confined to the east of the Ravi; but in 1804 Runjit was emboldened by the distracted state of the Afghan monarchy to invade the dependencies of Kabul, lying between the Ravi and the Indus, and, although he did not permanently establish his supremacy, he succeeded in enforcing its acknowledgment in the shape of gifts and tribute from the Mohammedan chiefs who had hitherto held of the Afghan kingdom. In 1805 he first became known to the British Government by the advance of Lord Lake's army into the Punjab. No great opinion was then entertained of his power or prospects. Sir J. Malcolm observes, his force did not amount to 8000 horse, and part of that was under chiefs who had been subdued from a state of independence, and whose turbulent minds ill brooked an usurpation which they deemed subversive of the constitution of the commonwealth.

The principal efforts of Runjit for the next few years were directed to the extension of his authority to the eastward, and several of the possessions of the original Misals were either wholly or in part incorporated with his own territories. He repeatedly crossed the Setlej, appropriated lands on its left bank, and interfered in the quarrels of the Sikh chiefs so obviously for his own advantage alone, that they became alarmed and had recourse to the British Government for protection as having succeeded to the power of Delhi, of which they acknowledged themselves to be the subjects, as in truth they as

well as all the Sikhs in the Punjab originally were, rising to independence only when the descendants of Baber were too weak to reclaim their allegiance. The appeal was admitted, but Runjit, although he relinquished his menacing attitude only upon the approach of a military force, was leniently dealt with: he was allowed to keep the places on the left bank of the Setlej, of which he was in actual possession, however unwarrantable the means by which they had been acquired; but the Sikh chiefs who had so far escaped his grasp were thenceforth protected from his violence or his craft: he thence returned to the westward and there sought more promising fields for the employment of his growing power and the gratification of his ambitious designs. In the prosecution of this policy he took Multan, reduced the districts between the Ravi and the Indus to his absolute dominion, crossed the latter river and conquered a considerable portion of the country of the Afghans, ascended the mountain on the north of the Punjab, and compelled the hill Rajas to pay him heavy tribute or to fly from their ancient seats to avoid his tyranny, occupied and ruined Kashmir, and subjected to his will the unoffending princes of Little Tibet, encircling to the north the Himalayan dependencies of British India, and approaching the confines of the Celestial Empire, with which his lieutenants finally came not very successfully into collision. To the whole of these possessions he had no other title than the sword, and his conquests, unchecked by the necessity of devising any pretext for them whatever, were the rapid growth of little more than twenty years. A kingdom composed of such heterogeneous materials could be held together only by the means by which it was acquired, and an overpowering military force was necessary to preserve the ascendancy which it had been employed to attain. As long as he preserved a good understanding with the only power in India whom he had cause to dread, as long as the British Government favoured his aggrandisement by turning a deaf ear to the urgent appeals made to its protection by the victims of Runjit Sing's ambition, he confidently prosecuted his system of aggression, and trampled with impunity upon the rights of his neighbours, whethes Mohammedans or Hindus. The transactions that have taken place since his decease have sufficiently shewn the rottenness of his system; the instability of a dominion based upon military violence and individual ambition; the certain consequences of relying upon an army as the main instrument and stay of a government. The successors of Runjit have perished under the presumption of the military chiefs, and the chiefs themselves have been the victims or the puppets of a mutinous and insolent soldiery. That soldiery has now been pretty well destroyed,

but the Khalsa has been left in a state of utter imbecility which will ensure its spontaneous extinction at no distant period, if it be not kept alive by the undeserved protection of the British Government.

Whatever may have been the political organization of the original Sikh confederacy it is obvious that it had ceased to exist; it had received its death-blow from Runjit Sing, and was latterly a monarchy of a despotic character, tempered by the necessity of conciliating powerful military leaders, or of holding them in check chiefly through the agency of their mutual jealousies and conflicting pretensions. The Misals were destroyed, the Guru-mata was forgotten, nor has the Sikh religion preserved much more of its primitive character. Its original elements were deism of a mystical tendency, contemplative worship, peace and good-will, and amalgamation of Mohammedan and Hindu. There was not much of dogma or precept, and its doctrines were inculcated through the channel of mystical and moral verses in a popular style. Nának Shah appears to have sought the amelioration of the principles and feelings rather than an alteration of the creed or usages of the people; he does not seem to have formally abolished caste although he received proselytes from every order, and while he treated the Koran with reverence he acknowledged the whole scheme of the Hindu mythology; so do his followers to the present day, that is, such of his followers as profess the pure Sikh faith. They do not worship images, they worship the visible type of the Khalsa in the book; but they do not question the existence of Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; and the legends relating to them, to Vishnu especially, as popularized from the Puránas in vernacular compositions, constitute much of their favourite literature; except in the mode of performing public worship, and in the profession of benevolent sentiments for all mankind, there is little difference between a Nirmala Sikh and an orthodox Hindu of the Vaishnava sect.

Neither are the Govind Sinhis, the disciples of Guru Govind, to be considered as unbelievers in the Hindu mythology. They receive all the Pauránic legends as true, but they appear to be most partial to those of the Saiva sect, as harmonizing best with their fierce and martial character. It is affirmed of their teacher, Guru Govind himself, that he was directed to loosen his hair and draw his sword by the Goddess Bhaváni, of whom he was an assiduous worshipper. He says of himself, "Durga Bhaváni appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The goddess put into my hand the hilt of a bright scymetar which she had before held in her own. 'The country of the Mohammedans,' said the goddess, 'shall be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain.' After I had heard this I

exclaimed, 'This steel shall be the guard to me and to my followers, because in its lustre the splendour of thy countenance, oh Goddess! is always reflected.'" In the account, also, which he gives of his mission, he says that in a preceding life he performed severe penance, meditating on Mahákála and Káliká (or Siva and Durgá), in consequence of which he was sent into the world by Parameswara, the supreme god, to establish a perfect system, to teach virtue, and exterminate the wicked. The last—understanding by the term 'wicked' the followers of Mohammed—is the part of his mission which he most laboured to fulfil, and which was the whole spirit of his reform. Hatred of the Mohammedans is evidently the ruling principle of all Guru Govind's institutions. His injunctions were, "It is right to slay a Mohammedan wherever you meet him. If you meet a Hindu, beat him, and plunder him, and divide his property among you. Employ your constant effort to destroy the countries ruled by Mohammedans; if they oppose you, defeat and slay them." The necessity, inseparable from this state of perpetual hostility, of filling his coffers and recruiting his bands, compelled him to have recourse to indiscriminate plunder, and to admit of the proselytism of Mohammedans; but deadly enmity to the latter is the ruling element of his system. To this he has sacrificed the benevolent spirit of the teaching of Nának, and the sacredness of the distinction of caste. As far, however, as is allowable by the institutions of Nának or Govind, the Sikhs observe the domestic usages of the Hindu tribes or castes from which they separated; and, in consequence, those tribes, particularly the Játs or Gujars in the Punjab or on the Jumna, do not refuse to eat or intermarry with those of the same races who have become converts to the Sikh religion. The Mohammedan converts are not permitted the same indulgence, and are obliged to eat the flesh of swine, and to abstain from the rite of circumcision. The flesh of the cow is the only article of food prohibited to the Sikhs; and on this head their prejudices are almost stronger than those of the Hindus. Smoking is also prohibited, but there is no restriction upon the use of bhang, opium, or spirituous liquor, and drunkenness, from one source or other, is a common vice. Nor is this the only one to which the Sikhs are addicted. The verses of Nának and his fellow moralists inculcate a pure code of ethics, but this is a portion of his reform to which no reverence is paid; and no race in India is more flagrantly demoralized than the Lions of the Punjab.

We do not derive from the travellers in the Punjab any description of the public or private worship of the Sikhs, who are probably more jealous in their own country of admitting strangers to be present at their ceremonies than they are in other parts of India. Although

several persons have been admitted into the city of Amritsar, it is only recently that it was allowable or safe to visit the sacred tank and temples in its vicinity. The only description that has yet been published is to be found in the Travels of Baron Hügel. According to him, the tank is about 150 paces square, and apparently fed by a natural spring. It is surrounded by a pavement 20 or 25 paces in breadth, skirted by houses on one side, and having several flights of steps to the water on the other. In the centre is the Hari Mandir, or Temple of Hari, in which a copy of the Adi Granth, said to be written by Nának himself, is preserved—a tradition rather at variance with the assertion that the Adi Granth was compiled by Arjunmal. The temple is connected with the embankment on the west side by a bridge. The temple is described by Baron Hügel as a handsome building inlaid with marble, having a golden roof, and a door of gold; and surrounded by small vestibules, the ceilings of which are supported by richly-ornamented pillars Before the entrance to the bridge are two large banners of red silk, the "Wah! Guru ji ka fatteh" on one, and "Rám Dás" on the other, in white letters. Opposite to the bridge are several small structures, in which the Sikh Udásis and Nirmalas are seated, to receive the gifts and reverences of the people. Fronting this tank was the chief gathering-place of the Akális, whose insolence made it dangerous to approach the holy precincts; but they are not noticed by Baron Hügel. The sacred tank and temple of Amritsar were also visited by our noble President, when Governor-General, in company with Runjit Sing. Whatever may have been the obstructions heretofore in the way of a personal acquaintance with the observances of the Sikhs in their own country, they seem to have had no objection, when out of the Punjab, to the presence of European visitors; and one of the earliest notices of them is the account given by Mr. Wilkins, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches, of his visit to the Sikh college at Patna. He was civilly treated, and allowed not only to see the place, but to be present at the public reading of the Granth, which constitutes the public ceremonial of the Sikhs. They have for their private use prayers composed by Nának, of which those called Arthi are recited on going to bed, and those entitled Jap are repeated the first thing in the morning. Their public worship, in imitation of the Hindu ritual, takes place three times a day, at the three Sandhyas—morning, mid-day, and sunset. I had an opportunity, when at Benares, of assisting at the latter, at the house of a Nirmala Sikh priest, who readily allowed myself and a friend to witness the ceremony. It was very simple. He occupied a lower-roomed house, inclosed in a small court or compound, and having a covered verandah in front. One end of the

verandah was shut in, so as to form a small chamber or chapel, in which, upon a table covered with a white cloth, and decorated with lights and flowers, lay the Adi Granth. As the people entered, they went singly into the room, and made a reverential salute to the book, with the exclamation, "Wah Guru ji;" and placed upon the table any small offering they might have to make. They then came forth, and seated themselves on the ground fronting the verandah, where sat the Guru on a chair, and his two guests on either hand of him. When the whole party, amounting to some thirty or forty, had assembled, the Guru recited, in a sort of chaunt, several hymns from the Granth, similar to those already quoted, repeating at the end of each, twice or thrice, "Meditate on the Saheb of the Book, and exclaim Wah Guru!" being answered on each occasion by all present, "Wah Guru—Wah Guru ji ka fatteh." The assistants then brought from the chapel trays of sweetmeats, which were handed to every one, and were eaten on the spot. The visitors were not forgotten. This concluded the service; but the party assembled did not immediately disperse. Individuals among them, accompanying themselves with the small drum or native lute, sang Hindi rekhtas and padas (moral and religious songs) in succession. We departed, as did several of the natives, when two or three had been sung; but the party did not finally break up until it was time to retire to rest. The persons present were of respectable appearance and decorous manners, being mostly shop-keepers, dealers in cloth or in grain, and bankers; some were natives of the Punjab, settled in Benares, others inhabitants of the city from different quarters, who had adopted the Sikh ritual, or had grafted it upon Vaishnava tenets. Hari and Ram were as familiar in their invocations, as the Saheb of the Book, or as the teacher or Guru.

Besides sacred shrines, connected with the history of the Sikhs, as the places where their Gurus were born or died, the Sikhs share the veneration of the Hindus for several of the holy cities, as Benares, Mathura, Haridwar. They also observe many of the same holidays, as the Holi, the Dasahara, the Dewali. The latter is the favourite season of pilgrimage to Amritsar.

The initiation of a Sikh convert is termed the Páhal, and is thus described by Captain Murray. "The candidate and the initiator wash their feet in the same water, which they then drink, having put some sugar into it, and stirred it with a dagger; repeating several moral stanzas, and taking a sip between each, exclaiming, 'Wah, wah Govind Sikh. Ap hi Guru chela!' Govind Sikh hail, himself teacher and disciple! It should be performed in the presence of at least five

Sikhs. It is ascribed to Guru Govind, who, when he had only five followers, went through this form with them, drinking of the water which had washed their feet, and they drinking that which had washed his." Sir John Malcolm gives a somewhat different and more dilated account of the ceremony, and says nothing of the previous use of the water, which is administered to the convert by the initiator with this injunction, "This sherbet is nectar: it is the water of life; drink it." Having obeyed, the disciple is told to abstain from all association with five classes of men: the Mína Dhirmal, who, though of the family of Nának, attempted to poison Arjun; the Musundia, a set of Sikh heretics; the Rám Ráyis, the descendants of Rám Ráya, who caused the death of Tegh Sinh; the Kud-i-man, or daughter-slayers, or the Rajputs; and the Bhadani, who shave their heads and beards. He is then enjoined to be kind and charitable, to reverence Amritsar, to devote himself to the Khalsa, and to study the sacred books. The children of the Sikhs all pass through this form of initiation.

From this sketch, imperfect as it must necessarily be, it will be seen that the Sikh religion scarcely deserves the name of a religious faith. A vague notion of a Creator and source of all things, and of a divine guardian and protector, pervades the poetry of Nának and his fellow bards, but it is little else than a poetical acknowledgment of a deity who is defined by negatives—who is without form—without time—without attributes. The only worship of him, if it can be called such, consists in the allusions that occur in the odes and hymns which are chaunted at the daily services, to a benevolent and powerful being, designated sometimes as Parameswara—the supreme being; Sat Nám—the true name; Tat-kartá—the maker of that which is; Adi-purusha—the first spirit; Bhagaván—the lord; but still more frequently as Rám or Hari, the popular names of Vishnu. Belief in the intervention of a providence in mundane affairs exercises very little influence upon Sikh practice. There is no public adoration of any of the Hindu divinities, nor, as far as is known, are any temples erected to them; but their existence is not disputed, and the characters given them by the Hindus and the legends told of them are devoutly credited; and there are probably some esoteric rites in which the worship of the Tantras is privately practised. The great distinction between the Sikhs and the other Hindus, is the abolition of the distinction of caste, and consequent extinction of many of the restraints which, in the more orthodox system, supply, however imperfectly, the want of a purer code of faith and practice. The experiment has not been very successful; and the worship of the Book and of the Sword, and the moral declamations of the contributors to the

sacred Granth, have led to as great, if not a greater, laxity of conduct, and as utter a disregard of both religious and moral obligations, as the superstitious belief and multiplied ceremonial of the Brahmans[1].

[1] The above summary has been drawn up in compliance with a wish expressed by some of the Members of the Society to be possessed of a brief notice of the institutions of the Sikhs which distinguish them from the Hindus in general. It is of course little more than a compilation from the accounts of the Sikhs already in print, especially those of Sir John Malcolm and Captain Murray, as prepared by Mr. H. T. Prinsep; recourse has been also had to the observations of recent travellers in the Punjab—particularly Messrs. Moorcroft, Burnes, Jacquemont, and Baron von Hügel, and to the amusing and characteristic work of Major Lawrence—Adventures of an Officer in the Punjab.

EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA.*

[*Extracted from the* ASIATIC JOURNAL *for August* 1838.]

THE anxiety which has been exhibited in India, by the British Government, to elevate the intellectual character of the people, by spreading amongst them a knowledge of the English language and literature and of the sciences of Europe, is highly creditable to the national character. At the same time, the slightest acquaintance with the circumstances of the country, and the peculiarities of our position, will suggest the importance of pursuing this object with deliberateness and discretion; and the slightest conversancy with the common feelings of human nature will dictate the necessity of its being conceived and prosecuted in a spirit of benevolence towards those whose benefit it is sought to secure. There can be little hope of success—there must be much fear of mischief—if, in the purpose of educating the people of India, all attention to their prejudices, opinions, and feelings is disregarded, and if sentiments of contempt and hatred are allowed to be manifested towards them and their institutions, with the certainty of exciting alarm and discontent.

Unhappily, of late years, the education of the natives of India has been made the occasion, not of calm, judicious, and benevolent investigation, but of controversial acrimony and intolerant partisanship. The concurrent co-operation of individuals eminently qualified to take a useful part in the education of the people, has been thus rendered impracticable, and the whole authority has devolved upon persons of superior talent, it is true, but of imperfect knowledge, and of confidence proportioned to their defective information. However accurate many of their views, however commendable most of their intentions, they have, by their intolerance of opposition and the precipitate haste with which they would carry their projects into effect, more than counteracted whatever good they may have accomplished, by the wide dissatisfaction which they have created. Their measures have provoked the most unprecedented and energetic protestations from the great majority both of Mohamedans and Hindus. Petitions against their principles and proceedings have been presented to the Government, signed by thousands of both classes in and

* On the Education of the People of India. By C. E. TREVELYAN, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service. London, 1838. Longman and Co.

about Calcutta alone; and were their objects known beyond those limits, those petitions would be echoed from one end of India to the other. This cannot be a wise—it cannot be a safe—it cannot be a successful course; and it is most certainly not a necessary course, even for the ends which the persons in question are anxious to attain.

What are the points in dispute? It suits the advocates of the party to which the publication we are about to notice belongs, to represent it as a struggle between Oriental and European literature and science. According to them, their opponents seek to discountenance the study of English in India, and to elevate, upon its exclusion, Sanscrit and Arabic, thereby perpetuating all the errors with which Hindu and Musulman literature abound, and all the immorality and false religion to which they are subservient. They, on the other hand, describe themselves as the uncompromising advocates of the wide dissemination of English, and of English alone, as the only certain source of sound learning and morality. Of course the comparison is much to their advantage; but what is the truth? The persons whom they thus misrepresent as the exclusive advocates of oriental literature have never maintained any such principles, or sanctioned them by their practice; on the contrary, it was they who, by their zealous encouragement of English, first gave the natives of Bengal a deep impression, in favour not of the language merely, but of its literature and science; it was they who first introduced, and carried to a degree of success not since surpassed, the English education of the natives, and who created that popularity for the study, of which their opponents have reaped the advantage, and would unjustly appropriate the credit. There is nothing in favour of the consequences of English education, urged by its warmest supporters, which they have not said and done; and it is, therefore, the height of unfairness to represent them as opposed to its dissemination. The questions really at issue are, not whether English shall or shall not be "extensively" studied, but whether it shall be "exclusively" studied; whether the majority of the natives of India, as long as they continue to reverence and love particular branches of literature, have not an equitable claim to some patronage from the state, or whether those esteemed as learned men amongst them ought to be treated with neglect and contumely; whether, with a view to the improvement of the whole people, the most congenial means of enriching their vernacular languages shall be rendered available, or shall be, if possible, annihilated; and whether it be not practicable to carry on at the same time education in both English and the classical languages of India, so as to produce results even more beneficial than the exclusive cultivation of English. Mr. Trevelyan and his friends say, English and nothing but English; those whom he terms orientalists say, English, the learned languages, and ultimately the vernacular dialects. The practicability and reasonableness of their views have been demonstrated by experience, and under their administration the Sanscrit Colleges and Madressas flourished, and English became widely cultivated and highly popular; and what is still more important, all classes of the community were pleased. How far it is just to call them the bigoted

advocates of orientalism, any man, apprised of the true circumstances of the case, will readily determine: they can be regarded in such a character by those alone, whose views are distorted by the obliquity of party-feeling.

Some misgivings, perhaps, of the light in which the late proceedings of the English Exclusives in India may have been contemplated in this country—some feeling that a vindication of them is demanded—seems to have suggested the present publication. The author has not been in England, we believe, more than a few weeks, and here is already a volume in defence of himself and his party. We are not aware that any circumstance required such breathless haste, although it is characteristic of the writer, and we think the publication would have benefited by the opportunity of re-consideration. As it is, it is of less usefulness than could have been wished; it is entirely on one side; it is a partial statement of party notions and feelings—not a dispassionate review of the past, nor a calm and sober anticipation of the future. It is, in a great measure, the consignment to the press of angry committee-minutes, which, as the contradicting minutes are not printed also, is scarcely a fair representation of the controversy. In the statements that are put forth, there are many inaccuracies, which must destroy our faith in what we might otherwise not have been inclined to question. There is also a want of order in the arrangement, and an intermixture of narrative, reasoning, and prophecy, which renders an analysis of the work almost impossible. To follow it in detail, to refute what is erroneous, to correct what is mis-stated, would involve the necessity of a notice as long as the work itself; nor have we any inclination to engage in the controversy. It is settled for the present "by authority;" discussion is, therefore, superfluous: time will show the wisdom or the folly of the measures that have been adopted. A few observations, however, are required to justify the opinion we have pronounced of the uncandid tone and party-spirit of the publication.

The work is divided into chapters, of which the first is devoted to the history of what has been done for the education of the people of India, at various periods, by the Government of Bengal. After simply mentioning the establishment of the Mohamedan College of Calcutta in 1781, and the Sanscrit College of Benares in 1792, the author notices briefly the appointment of the first Committee of Public Instruction in 1823, and its proceedings to 1831. He then quotes the Committee's own statement of the principles which guided its proceedings, as explained in a printed report bearing the latter date; and, with this report before him, it is surprising how he can persist in representing the members of the Committee as the intolerant advocates of oriental literature, unless he will assert that their actions have belied their professions. As this report, according to our belief, is a faithful picture of their conduct, and as the principles laid down are still, according to our notions, the only safe and sound principles by which native education in India should be regulated, we shall not hesitate to place it before our readers.

"The introduction of useful knowledge is the great object which they have

proposed as the end of the measures adopted or recommended by them, keeping in view the necessity of consulting the feelings and conciliating the confidence of those for whose advantage their measures are designed.

" The committee has, therefore, continued to encourage the acquirement of the native literature of both Mohamedans and Hindus, in the institutions which they found established for these purposes, as the Madressa of Calcutta, and Sanscrit College of Benares. They have also endeavoured to promote the activity of similar establishments, of which local considerations dictated the formation, as the Sanscrit College of Calcutta and the colleges of Agra and Delhi, as it is to such alone, even in the present day, that the influential and learned classes, those who are by birthright or profession teachers and expounders of literature, law, and religion, maulavis and pundits, willingly resort.

" In the absence of their natural patrons, the rich and powerful of their own creeds, the committee have felt it incumbent upon them to contribute to the support of the learned classes of India by literary endowments, which provide not only directly for a certain number, but indirectly for many more, who derive from collegiate acquirements consideration and subsistence amongst their countrymen. As far also as Mohamedan and Hindu law are concerned, an avenue is thus opened for them to public employment, and the state is provided with a supply of able servants and valuable subjects; for there is no doubt that, imperfect as oriental learning may be in many respects, yet the higher the degree of the attainments even in it possessed by any native, the more intelligent and liberal he will prove, and the better qualified to appreciate the acts and designs of the Government.

" But whilst every reasonable encouragement is given to indigenous native education, no opportunity has been omitted by the committee of improving its quality and adding to its value. In all the colleges the superintendence is European, and this circumstance is of itself an evidence and a cause of very important amelioration. In the Madressa of Calcutta, and Hindu College of Benares, institutions of earlier days, European superintendence was for many years strenuously and successfully resisted. This opposition has long ceased. The consequences are, a systematic course of study, diligent and regular habits, and an impartial appreciation of merits, which no institution, left to native superintendence alone, has ever been known to maintain.

" The plan of study adopted in the colleges is, in general, an improvement upon the native mode, and is intended to convey a well-founded knowledge of the languages studied, with a wider range of acquirement than is common, and to effect this in the least possible time. Agreeably to the native mode of instruction, for instance, a Hindu or Mohamedan lawyer devotes the best years of his life to the acquirement of law alone, and is very imperfectly acquainted with the language which treats of the subject of his studies. In the Madressa and Sanscrit College, the first part of the course is now calculated to form a really good Arabic and Sanscrit scholar, and a competent knowledge of law is then acquired with comparative facility, and contemporaneously with other branches of Hindu or Mohamedan learning.

" Again, the improvements effected have not been limited to a reformation in the course and scope of native study, but, whenever opportunity has favoured, new and better instruction has been grafted upon the original plan. Thus, in the Madressa, Euclid has been long studied, and with considerable advantage: European anatomy has also been introduced. In the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, European anatomy and medicine have nearly supplanted the native systems. At Agra and at Delhi, the elements of geography and astronomy and

mathematics are also part of the college course. To the Madressa, the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, and the Agra College, also, English classes are attached, whilst at Delhi and Benares distinct schools have been formed for the dissemination of the English language. Without offering, therefore, any violence to native prejudices, and whilst giving liberal encouragement to purely native education, the principle of connecting it with the introduction of real knowledge has never been lost sight of, and the foundation has been laid of great and beneficial change in the minds of those who, by their character and profession, direct and influence the intellect of Hindustan.

"In addition to the measures adopted for the diffusion of English in the provinces, and which are yet only in their infancy, the encouragement of the Vidyalaya, or Hindu College of Calcutta, has always been one of the chief objects of the committee's attention. The consequence has surpassed expectation. A command of the English language, and a familiarity with its literature and science, have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any schools in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Vidyalaya, are springing up in every direction. The moral effect has been equally remarkable, and an impatience of the restrictions of Hinduism, and a disregard of its ceremonies, are openly avowed by many young men of respectable birth and talents, and entertained by many more who outwardly conform to the practices of their countrymen. Another generation will probably witness a very material alteration in the notions and feelings of the educated classes of the Hindu community of Calcutta."

According to the book before us, "the progress of events was leading to the necessity of adopting a more decided course: the taste for English became more and more widely disseminated"—a result, we may remark, wholly at variance with the charge made so repeatedly against the Committee, of favouring orientalism at the expense of English:—"a loud call arose for the means of instruction in English, and the subject was pressed on the Committee from various quarters." This is in some respects true, but it is not all the truth. The call was not so universal, nor so entitled to attention, as it would appear to be from this account of it. Even in Calcutta, the greater number of persons, who sought for English tuition, sought only for the very lowest degree of acquirement; and in different places up the country, the introduction of English was not only uncalled for, but was not always considered by persons on the spot advisable. At Benares, for instance, objections were raised to an English teacher, and an English school was, therefore, commenced under two young natives of Bengal, merely to prepare the way for English tuition of a higher order. At Patna, it was found impossible to form a European Committee of superintendence. The call was, in fact, confined almost to Calcutta; but wherever there was a prospect of introducing the study effectively, the Committee was prepared to introduce it. As time advanced, and the example of the Governor-general made it fashionable, European functionaries in the provinces were found more ready to co-operate with the Committee, and their views were more capable of being carried into effect. There was neither, however, the purpose nor the necessity to adopt any course more decided—in other words,

more precipitate—than was compatible with the principles which the Committee had professed.

As an instance of the superior interest felt in the study of English, the author adduces an illustration which is much in favour with his party, but which is, nevertheless, exceedingly unfair. Thirty-one thousand English books, he says, were sold by the School-book Society, in the course of two years, while the Education Committee did not dispose of Arabic and Sanscrit volumes to pay the expense of keeping them for two months, to say nothing of the printing expenses. Now, in the first place, a mere comparison of numbers proves nothing: tried by this test, works of the highest character would never be printed at all. Pickwick, we suspect, has far outstripped Hallam's Constitutional History; and "Trevelyan," some twelvemonths hence, will cut a sorry figure by the side of Dilworth and Dyché. The English books of the School-book Society were—primers, spelling-books, grammars, readers; the Arabic and Sanscrit books comprehended elaborate works on mathematics and law. Besides, the writer keeps out of sight altogether the fact that the Sanscrit and Arabic books were not printed for sale; they were put in the way of being sold, but the especial object of their being printed was their gratuitous distribution as class-books and prize-books to the students of the Hindu and Mohamedan colleges—to the very persons by whom they were likely to be purchased, but who, as the Committee well knew, had not the means of purchasing. Under any circumstances, therefore, the contrast is uncandid, and, in the case in question, most unjust.

Another position, the accuracy of which we deny from our own knowledge, is, that "the English classes, which had been *tacked on* to the Sanscrit and other oriental colleges, had entirely failed of their object." The contemptuous phrase "tacked on," indicates the spirit of the assertion; but that is of little importance. The correctness of the affirmation, in the writer's own estimate of its purport, depends upon his conception of the object of those classes. If he thought that they were expected to rear such accomplished English scholars as some few of the boys of the Anglo-Indian College, who had dedicated ten or twelve years to English alone, of course they were failures; but no such expectation was framed by those by whom the classes were instituted. It was hoped that it would prove practicable to combine with a thorough conversancy with Sanscrit or Arabic a "serviceable" knowledge of English, and in this the classes succeeded. Their organization was new and incomplete; but even in their early stages, they were far from failures. It suits Mr. Trevelyan and his friends to call them so, because they thought proper to abolish them altogether: a measure for which no motive can be conjectured, except that inveterate feeling of hostility, which was evinced in so many of their expressions and acts, towards "learned natives," and the determination to exclude pundits and maulavis from all chance of acquiring the same means of recommendation to their European superiors as their countrymen. That the students of the Sanscrit College failed not to acquire a serviceable knowledge of English, may be satisfactorily proved. Many of them were of the medical caste; and if

they have benefited by the English lectures of the New Medical College, they may thank the English class of the Sanscrit College for their proficiency. With many of the Brahman pupils we have carried on a conversation in English on a variety of topics, and we have in our possession several translations into Sanscrit from Johnson, and a considerable part of Hume's History of England, by pupils of the class. With such proofs to the contrary, therefore, we are fully warranted in asserting, in opposition to Mr. T., that the English class of the Sanscrit College was no failure. That of the Madressa was mismanaged; but even that furnished a young native subsecretary to the Governor-general on his travels up the country. As to the actual acquirement of English, therefore, they were not failures, whilst they contributed to another object—considered to be of great importance by the former committee, but undervalued by Mr. T. and his friends—that of affording to the learned classes an opportunity and an inducement to add some knowledge of English to their own attainments. The mere attempt struck down a host of prejudices; success, however moderate, opened the mind to new ideas, suggested new thoughts, and moderate proficiency made the possessor a most invaluable instrument in the business of education. We are not sure that no such instruments were raised: the period of discipline was too brief to prepare many, particularly as, during part of the time at least, exertion was paralyzed by the avowed contempt of those to whom the pupils looked for encouragement. Adverting to the state of the classes at the end of 1832, we can vouch that there were several of their members who might have been most beneficially employed. They have been neglected, we think, most unwisely; for whatever the English Exclusives may think upon the subject, and however numerous may be the interested learners of indifferent English dispersed throughout India, we are persuaded that no great and permanent change will be wrought in the moral and intellectual character of the people until it is promoted by the learned classes—until a proportion of pundits and maulavis—of Sanscrit and Arabic scholars—shall be doubly armed, and able to compare their own learning with English learning, either for their own illumination or that of their countrymen. In what part of the world did the unlettered part of the community ever take the lead in intellectual improvement?

In a subsequent passage of the book, an attempt has been made to reply to this argument, and to undervalue the co-operation of men who are learned in their own learning as well as in ours. The reply, although from the hand of a more practised writer than Mr. Trevelyan, and although in this as in other parts of it conveyed in an overwhelming cloud of words, means merely, that the pundits and maulavis will never be prevailed upon to join in a scheme for the improved education of their countrymen: a fact not to be credited on bare assertion. "If Luther," it is said, "had addressed the Roman Catholic clergy, and Bacon the schoolmen, instead of the rising generation, and all who were not strongly pre-engaged in behalf of any system, we should have missed our European reformation both of philosophy and religion." The illustrations are singularly unfortunate, for Bacon did address scholars, and Luther did appeal to the clergy—even to

the Pope himself. But the persons whom they addressed is little to the point: the example which they afforded in their own persons is much more germain to the matter. Bacon was himself educated in the scholastic philosophy, and Luther was himself originally a Roman Catholic priest: they were both precisely such reformers as we stand in need of in India—men versed in old doctrines and teaching new—a maulavi and a pundit, a master of European learning, as well as of his own. So much for ingenuity of illustration, in place of common sense.

In the account which Mr. Trevelyan proceeds to give of the points on which a difference of opinion arose amongst the members of the Committee, there prevails the uncandid attempt, already exposed, to represent those opposed to him as "orientalists," as arguing for the preservation of the native institutions, not upon the grounds of reason and justice, but their own personal attachments and tastes; keeping out of sight the fact, that the individuals alluded to had never cultivated oriental literature as matter of taste. In this part of the narrative there is also a sentence that requires notice, although it is but one of many that discredit this publication. It is said that, "after having had expensive translations into Arabic made, it was found that neither teachers nor students could understand them, and it was proposed to employ the translator as the interpreter of his own writings at a further expense of Rs. 300 a month." Mr. T. may think this facetious: we cannot compliment him on his generosity or his candour. The proposal was, to attach a teacher of European anatomy or mathematics to the Mohamedan College—a proposal sufficiently rational, and not the less so because the books which the class would have studied had been translated by the able and amiable individual whom it was intended to recommend as professor, and whose life the unjust conduct of the Committee contributed to shorten. With regard to translations, Mr. T. ought to know, that when they treat of matters unfamiliar to the natives of the East, and in a novel style, their not being at once understood is no proof of their being imperfectly executed. It is not because the Scriptures have been badly translated, that they are in many places unintelligible to the people of India. Oral explanation must be added to translation, or the work is but partially performed. With the *litera scripta*, however, the explanation is easily perpetuated, and that which was at first incomprehensible, becomes, by degrees, familiar as household words. There was nothing, therefore, inconsistent or absurd in the proposal, although it offended the notions of those who are so infatuated with regard to the English language, that they have excluded from the legitimate expenditure of the Education Committee, even translations from it into the languages studied at the highest order of native seminaries, and from such seminaries the use of translations already published. Any one who forgot for a moment the consequences of extreme opinions, would have thought that, whilst Sanscrit and Arabic are studied, it would be desirable to make them, whenever opportunity offered, the vehicles of instruction in European science: not at all—the "Exclusives" would have nothing but English; and at last, they carried their point.

The discussions of the committee were closed by authority; and, on the

7th March 1835, an edict was promulgated, of which the first clause determined the principles that were in future to guide the Committee's procedure:

"The Governor-general in Council is of opinion, that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone."

Here, then, the Government of India joined the crusade against Sanscrit and Arabic, and all other oriental languages, and announced its commands that all funds applicable to the purposes of education, and which, it should be kept in mind, are raised from the people themselves, should, sooner or later, be applied to the cost of tuition in English alone. The conciliatory, prudent, and sound principles of the Committee, as put forth in 1831, and which had been confirmed by the Government, and highly approved of by the Home Authorities, were wholly disregarded, and a new one, of a most exclusive nature, adopted in its stead. Those with whom it originated, of course, are loud in its commendation: we doubt if experience justifies their applause.

The immediate consequences we have already intimated—the secession from the committee of some of its most effective members, and the discontent of the people. The representations of the latter are very imperfectly noticed in the work before us, whether purposely, or through want of information, we shall not pretend to say; one petition only is alluded to, and that is ascribed to a few individuals, whose interests were affected by the measure. We beg to tell the writer that there are four different petitions against the measures of himself and his friends. The first remonstrance of the Musulmans was signed by eight thousand respectable names. Met by an evasive reply, a second petition, signed by, we believe, eighteen thousand names, was presented, and a third may be looked for, if an expected answer from England, to which the petitioners were referred, should not arrive. In the mean time, a petition, signed by ten thousand Hindus, has been presented to the Government of Bengal, to the same tenor; and another petition from the Mohamedans, numerously signed, in reference to a special case of illegal interference, is on its way home. Now, admitting that the petitioners are quite ignorant of the true merits of the case, is it advisable to keep up all this excitement for the sake of certain theoretical experiments in national education? The main grievance complained of is the present and prospective abolition of small monthly allowances hitherto granted to the students of the native colleges. It appears, by the Committee's report for 1836, that, in the course of a twelvemonth, they had saved by non-renewal of lapsed stipends about £600 a-year. Is this a sum for which it is worth while to have excited dissatisfaction and irritation in twenty or even ten thousand respectable subjects of the Government of Bengal?

According to the showing of Mr. Trevelyan, various important measures signalized the victory of his party: some of them are rather amusing. For

example: "Arrangements were made with the School-book Society for the publication of a book of selections from the English poets, from Chaucer downwards; and the expediency of publishing a corresponding volume in prose is now under consideration." The old committee undertook, in concert with the School-book Society, to publish some thirty or forty volumes of English selections; the new committee "*takes into consideration* the expediency of publishing"—*one!*

"When these operations commenced, there were fourteen seminaries under the control of the committee; now there are forty." The old committee would have preferred four effective seminaries to forty petty unintellectual schools. We do not mean, however, to deny that some of the forty may be valuable establishments; some of the best are but legacies from the old committee to the new: some others may be of use, but we doubt the value of the whole. Mr. T. has not given us any particulars, but we may cite some from the printed report of the committee of 1836. A school has been set up at Pooree, with twenty-five scholars: the master considers that the reason of their being so few is, that "a knowledge of the Shasters is more profitable to the inhabitants than that of the English language." Maulmein has its school of Chinese, Burmese, and other tribes, of a most motley character: "the statement of their acquirements is humble." An English school is established at Gawahati, in Assam, where it is hoped that, "in another year, the boys may understand what they now read." At Patna, it is admitted that "circumstances have prevented the school from attaining that degree of popularity and success that has attended similar institutions in other places." At Ghazeepore, we are told, "the anticipations of success entertained by the local committee have not been altogether realized." They "express their determination, however, not to be discouraged, or to relax any thing in their endeavours to promote, by every means in their power, the cause of native education in the English language;" that is, the natives are to be compelled, if possible, to accept what they neither wish nor want—a very honest exposition of the line of conduct which the principles of the *new* committee are calculated to produce. It is unnecessary to extract more details. These are sufficient to show that "the call" for English is not so universal as has been represented, and that a forcing system has been had recourse to; where this is not the case, English schools have been established in localities in which they cannot possibly produce any real moral or intellectual effect. What intellectual elevation can be expected at Gawahati and Maulmein?

The work goes on to explain some other of the "vigorous" measures of the committee; some of which are not new, and others are of doubtful advantage. We then come to a curious attempt to vindicate the consistency of an important modification of the committee's views, wholly incompatible with those hitherto entertained.

The chimerical project of the English Exclusives, which led to the edict of the 7th March 1835, to render English the sole medium of instruction throughout India, was not only opposed by the rational members of the

committee, but naturally excited ridicule and opposition wherever it was heard of. Several writers in the periodical publications of the day, and especially the able and experienced editor of the *Friend of India*, assailed it with equal severity and justice, and the "Exclusives" were compelled to alter their tone, and admit the claims of the vernacular languages to a share of the Government patronage. This was a wise step, the wisest they have taken, and for which they deserve commendation. Not content, however, with the credit of having seen and corrected their errors—with "being wiser to-day than they were yesterday"—they have taken immense pains to convince people, against the evidence of their eyes and ears, that they never advocated any other doctrines. They seek to persuade Government, also, that it did not know the meaning of the words it used, and that the phrases, "European literature and science," "English education *alone*," and "imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the *English* language," meant, all the while, imparting such knowledge through something else—Bengalí or Hindustaní. "These expressions," they say, "have, *as we understand them*, no reference to the question, through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the people is capable of receiving, is to be conveyed;" and this in the face of "*through* the *English* language," and his Lordship in Council's opinion, that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education should be employed *on English education alone*." Truly, it may be doubted if English education should not be afforded to the members of the committee also, as they seem to understand so imperfectly the meaning of English words.

Having thus explained their own peculiar understanding of plain phrases, they state: "We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which *all our efforts* must be directed." The discovery of the importance of this object is rather late, and not very novel, considering that the principle was always avowed and acted upon by the Education Committee from its first formation. If they gave to the vernacular languages a less prominent place in their proceedings than to the languages considered classical, there were sufficient reasons for their so doing, especially as they considered the improvement of the vernacular capable of being best effected with the aid of those held to be classical. The vernacular languages stood less in need of their interference, as they received efficient aid from other institutions; but the Committee was far from neglecting them; they encouraged translations, and patronized their publication, and introduced, wherever they could, tuition in them to an extent beyond what was generally known. In the Sanscrit College of Calcutta, for example, where it would have been unnecessary and unpopular to have established a formal Bengalí class, the object of the cultivation of that language was effected by making the students constantly translate from Bengalí into Sanscrit, and from Sanscrit into Bengalí, teaching them thus to write both, with accuracy and elegance. In the Anglo-Indian College, Bengalí composition was daily practised; and in the up-country colleges, and especially at Agra, the encouragement and extension of Hindí was again and again urged upon

the attention of the local committee by the committee at the presidency. Now, to what do the professions of the new committee amount? After exhausting their funds in the formation of English schools, where they are not wanted, and where they can do little good, they pretend to direct all their efforts to the formation of a vernacular literature. The schools in general had been previously provided with masters, who were to teach the language of the province; but how were they to teach it? What books have they for their classes? what original works have the committee printed—what translations have they patronized?—None: such is the active tendency of all their efforts. In a subsequent part of the book, occurs a most sophistical defence of this omission. It is said, in order to create a vernacular literature, we must create the demand for one. We should like to know how a taste for books is to be created before there are books to read. The use of the spoken dialects in public business will cause a demand for the language: we doubt if it will engender literary taste. The more efficient mode of creating a demand for books, is the preparation of class-books—the institution of a course of tuition by which, in the first instance, the books will be read as tasks, and subsequently as tastes. But we have other and more direct proofs of either the insincerity or inefficiency of the Committee, in their professed purpose of "directing all their efforts" to the encouragement of the vernacular dialects. In their last printed Report, we find that at Agra, the Hindî students have diminished in number; at Ajmere, there was *no teacher* of the current speech; at Allahabad, the vernacular language was *not taught;* at Ghazeepoor, the local Committee, in imitation of their betters, were of opinion "that no separate teacher of the vernacular language was necessary, but that the object would be best attained by instruction in English!" That is, that a knowledge of English will teach a youth Hindustani! Some of the Company's junior civil and military servants will approve of this plan exceedingly. The General Committee have, as they were bound to do, declared that they had the fullest confidence in the judgment of the Local Committee! Such is their mode of applying "all their efforts" to the encouragement of the vernacular languages.

The remainder of this chapter gives an account of measures adopted for the education of the wards of the Government, and the foundation of a medical college. The former are the sons of deceased landholders, whose affairs, whilst they are under age, are under the care of the collector of the revenue of the district in which their estates lie. It is an important object, and one which occupied much of the attention of the old committee; it is one, however, in which much delicacy is required, as it involves the removal of the person of the youth, in some degree, from the mischievous influence of the kindred and dependants who surround him. With regard to the Medical College, we are disposed to think that it may possibly become beneficial, although not at present, at least, in proportion to its costliness. It is premature; but time will remove this objection. We cannot admit, however, the justice of all the panegyric which the author of this volume lavishes upon it. The plan of educating native medical men on European principles had been in practice several years before the college was founded.

The native assistants, to whom in the outset the institution was much indebted, had been taught European anatomy, surgery, and medicine, at the Sanscrit College, and most of the pupils who obtained credit at the first public examinations, had acquired their proficiency, not in the New College, but at the Sanscrit College, or the Institution for Native Assistants to the Army Surgeons. The establishment is by no means, therefore, entitled to the "peculiar glory" claimed for it, unjustly, of "obtaining a victory over national prejudices, in inducing native Hindus or Mohamedans to enter a dissecting-room and use a scalpel for themselves." The battle was fought—sooth to say, it was no very arduous fight—several years before, and animals and parts of the human subject were repeatedly dissected by natives of caste, under Mr. Tytler's superintendence. *Suum cuique* should be the motto of every public man—of every honest man—and we can only excuse the misrepresentation here put forth, under the impression that the writer knew nothing of the state of things which he traduces.

Having given his own version of the proceedings and views of the Education Committee, in times past and present, the writer enters upon the consideration of general principles. We doubt not that he values himself highly upon this his second chapter, in which he proposes to show that nations of inferior civilization have derived benefit from an intercourse with others more civilized. To us it seems very much like a waste of words, and an unnecessary display of school-boy erudition, to tell us, in a discussion respecting the best means of raising the intellectual character of the Hindus, that Virgil was an imitator; that the young Romans studied Etruscan; that the French were not sufficiently alive to the new resources that they might have derived from the study of foreign languages, and that Russia has emerged from barbarism by the Boyards having learnt French.

The third chapter professes to account for the opposition made to the exclusive English system; and, as we have particularized above, the account is a most unfair one—every other sentence is a misrepresentation. Europeans in India have been, according to Mr. T., oriental-mad for the last half century. "Oriental learning," he asserts, "was nearly the sole test of merit amongst the junior civil servants and the military and medical officers, who aspired to civil employment." A knowledge of the vernacular languages of the country, in which their duties were to be transacted, was of course an indispensable qualification for employment. It is a test which the author of the book himself has undergone, and by which he has benefited; but he will pardon us, we know, for saying that such proficiency is not oriental learning. Again: "A superior knowledge of Sanscrit and Arabic was sure to be rewarded by a good place." We question the fact, and our opportunities of knowing it were better than the author's. That some individuals, of whose superior fitness for public employ such acquirements formed a portion, have risen to high situations, may be admitted; but, we think, even Mr. Trevelyan will acknowledge that they deserved this elevation. On the other hand, we have known several much more entitled to the designation of oriental scholars, who were never indebted to their scholarship for the good things which may or may not

have fallen to their lot. "The reputations of many members of Government, and nearly *all* the secretaries, had been founded on this basis;" that is, on Sanscrit and Arabic. We know of but one secretary in Bengal who, during the last thirty years, has been a Sanscrit scholar, or at all acquainted with the language, and nearly all have been as little conversant with Arabic. The "literary circle of Calcutta was, in 1823, almost exclusively composed of orientalists." The author will acknowledge that he knew very little of the literary circle of Calcutta in 1823; and we can assure him, from personal knowledge, that he is grievously in error. So much for the foundations on which his hypothesis is based!

In this state of things, then, which never existed, except in the writer's imagination, the Committee, according to him, was formed, and consequently, agreeably to his notions, it consisted entirely of enthusiastic cultivators of oriental literature; and with these rabid orientalists was the contest to be fought. Now, whatever might have been the original constitution of the Committee, it is scarcely just to charge its sins upon the Committee of 1835, seeing that almost all the original members had died or left the country, and that the members who opposed the English Exclusives had joined it at a much later period, when the literary circle of Calcutta, even Mr. T. may admit, was no longer influenced by oriental enthusiasts. To them, nevertheless, the charge of wounded vanity is applied; they it was who felt, in the proposed exclusive introduction of English, "that the axe was to be laid at the root of their reputations;" although, with admirable consistency, it is presently, though reluctantly, confessed, that they had outlived their passion for oriental literature—or, in the inflated style of the text, "the well-earned honours of mature life had rendered several of these distinguished persons independent of their early reputation for eastern learning." They "completely lost their temper:" were they singular in this respect—at the depreciation of acquirements—which they no longer valued themselves as possessing?—No; if they lost their temper—which we have only the writer's authority for crediting—it was on more justifiable grounds. They might well have felt indignant at the rashness and presumption, at the intolerance and self-sufficiency, of those who, ignorant of the languages and of the people, had influence enough to arm authority against experience, and call in the agency of power to demolish a system, which was working admirably, for one that was narrow, exclusive, untried, which it was soon found necessary to modify essentially, which has caused extensive heart-burning and discontent amongst the people, and has effected little or no good. To say nothing, however, of the indecorum of thus taking advantage of an official station to expose the infirmities, if such existed, of official colleagues, the charge is not a little suspicious, as coming from one of the belligerents: it reminds us of Sheridan's character of Sir Anthony Absolute, who, when in a rage with his unruffled son, exclaims, "What are you in a passion for, you dog? why can't you be cool—*as I am?*"

The writer then quotes the authority of Bishop Heber, Ram Mohun Roy,

and an official letter of the Court of Directors, in which a low value is set upon oriental literature: he is welcome to their support. The value of oriental literature is not in question, or we should be quite ready to maintain that the estimates of it, formed by those who know nothing of it, are of very little consequence. It is not as oriental literature that the original committee asserted the necessity and importance of its being supported, as may be seen from their own statement, inserted above. They advocated it as the literature of the people, of that of the learned amongst them, as the source of their spoken speech, as the expression of their feelings, and the record of their history, laws, and religion. They asserted that the learned classes of the natives of India had a right to the patronage of the Government, and that whilst it was no more than justice to grant it to them, it was sound policy to grant it directly and liberally, and to place ourselves at the head of those classes, not only to conciliate their good-will, but to obtain the means of regulating even their studies, and directing them to beneficial results. It was in this point of view alone that they urged perseverance in the course pursued, not from motives of personal vanity, nor any passion for oriental literature. How far the Government of India is bound to patronize that literature in its European servants, or for the sake of literature in general, is a question totally distinct from its support as part of a system for the national education of the natives of India. If it has been mixed up with that question, it has been so by the "English Exclusives:" they "made the giants first, and then they killed them." In quoting, however, the letter of the Court, it would have been but honest in the writer to have looked at the date, when he would have found that it had been superseded by a letter subsequently written. When the Home Authorities were put in possession of the principles of the Committee, and found how well they worked, they approved—highly approved—of the Committee's proceedings, and directed that they should be made the guide and model to the Education Committees at the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The writer cannot plead that he was unaware of the existence of their despatch, as it is cited in the Committee's Report of 1831, which he quotes at starting. It did not suit him to notice it; but as he has not thought proper to do so, we will print it for him.

Extracts from a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, dated the 29th September 1830.

1. "Our last letter to you on the subject of native education was dated 5th September 1827, since which we have received your letter in the Persian department, dated 21st August 1829, to which we now proceed to reply.

2. "The report which you have furnished to us in this letter of the result of the measures for the education of the natives already sanctioned by us, has afforded us the highest satisfaction. The experiment of establishing seminaries for giving instruction to the people of India, of a higher kind than any which they previously possessed, has been successful in a degree not merely equal, but superior to our most sanguine expectations. The great and rapidly increasing efficiency and popularity of these institutions, not only affords complete proof that their establishment was called for by the state of public feel-

ing, and by the circumstances of the times, but also conveys the gratifying assurance that the higher classes of our Hindu and Mohamedan subjects are ripe for a still further extension among them of European education, and European science and literature.

3. "We shall briefly pass in review the present state of each of the Colleges established under your presidency, principally in order that you may receive, in each instance, specifically, the expression of our warmest approbation, both as respects the general system on which these various institutions have been conducted, and the particular improvements which you have successively introduced.

34. "You will communicate to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, such of the papers relating to your proceedings in the department of native education, as will afford to these Governments a complete understanding of the general character of the measures which you have adopted, or may hereafter adopt.

35. "It is our wish that the establishments for native education should be conducted on the same principles, and receive the same support from Government, at all the presidencies."

Chapter IV. undertakes to reply "briefly" to the objections commonly urged against the change in the Committee's plans: the objections are cited from a paper published in our Journal for January, 1836, by Professor Wilson. The answers are, the author states, "from the writings of others, who can better express what he has to say than he can himself." We think he does himself injustice.

"What do you read, my lord? Words, words, words." The brief answers occupy above fifty pages. We have already given one taste of their quality, where the illustration, if good for any thing, makes entirely for that view which it is intended to refute; and we cannot but think the rest of them more discursive and evasive than close or convincing. It is scarcely worth while to notice them, but we may make a few remarks.

One debateable subject is the appropriation of a lac of rupees by Act of Parliament, in 1813, to the encouragement of "learned natives;" an expression sufficiently intelligible, it might have been thought, only that words have new meanings with the Committee; and *learned natives*, "as they understand it," means Bengalis or Hindustanis, who should be "familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton." We doubt if such "learned natives" be yet candidates for encouragement; most certain we are, that, in 1813, there were no such prodigies. It was not, as this writer might have learned from others better informed, until 1816 that any English school of a more than an elementary description existed in Bengal: we were intimately acquainted with all the best native English scholars of Calcutta, for many years, before and since 1813, and, without taking advantage of the extravagance about Milton, and Newton, &c., we can affirm, that there existed no native to whom the epithet "learned" was applicable in reference to English learning. Did the Act of Parliament contemplate nonentities? Assuredly not. The writer of the so-called Reply may hold oriental learning and learned natives in what contempt he pleases, but the Parliament of 1813

had no better learning or learned men to deal with; and no reasonable man can doubt for an instant that pundits and maulavis were the "learned natives" who were considered entitled to the liberal consideration of the State. We know the fact, but are contented with the inference.

Next comes the question of spoliation, that is, of the resumption of endowments granted for a special purpose, and applying them to another for which they never were designed, as has lately been done in India. The writer asserts the right of the Government to do this, "because, if a sanatarium should be built on an unhealthy spot, it may be removed; because, we may stop in the erection of a pier, if we see reason to doubt its usefulness." The applicability of these illustrations—they are not intended, we trust, for arguments—is not very obvious; and, to be sound, they involve the admission of all that is disputed; the accuracy of the judgment which directs the removal of the one or the discontinuance of the other. The sanatarium is not to be removed at the dictate of every quack; the pier is not to be stopped at the fancy of every Cockney who pays a flying visit to the harbour; who comes in a steam-boat on Saturday night and returns to London on Monday morning, and thereby holds himself qualified to decide on the merits of the structure better than the experienced engineer by whom it is erected, or the inhabitants of the place who are satisfied of its utility. This, however, is mere trifling; no person denies that the State has the right, as it has the power, to change the destination of endowments with such a change of circumstances and times, as makes their original appropriation unprofitable or mischievous; but the power is a dangerous one, and the right should be well considered: above all things, the people and the Government should be of one mind. When the Mohamedans admit that Arabic is of no use; when the Hindus acknowledge that Sanscrit is not worth studying; then may the English resume the grants made to their institutions whilst those institutions were in esteem. But we question the right, and still more the policy of its exercise, when, with one voice, Hindus and Mohamedans call out against such resumption as an injury and a spoliation. The writer proceeds: "If the Government have given to any person a formal assurance—if it has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation, that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests." This is all we ask: but does it mean what it says? We fear not, "as we understand it," for, if so, how can the stipends be withdrawn from the students of the native colleges? a measure of which the author of this Minute is no doubt the adviser. There is some quibble about "person," as if that which was true of an individual was not true of the public. No one person except an incumbent can have been actually promised a salary as teacher or student: but has Government nothing to do with the reasonable expectations formed by Mohamedan youths of their obtaining, if duly qualified, Madressa scholarships and professorships, after having founded and maintained, for a series of years, such inducements and encouragements to study? There may be no pledge literally, but there is practically.

there may be none in law, but there is in liberality. Whether of right or not, expectations have been formed, and if not fulfilled, there will be great and lasting disappointment.

One word more on this topic. The writer asserts that "there is not a word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian Government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject." We doubt the accuracy of the writer's information. With regard to the Madressa, if they gave no pledge, they gave a better thing — land. After a season, indeed, they wanted the land, but they did not take it away — they bought it, by assigning in lieu of it a fixed pecuniary equivalent. Now, they would take away that equivalent. To us this looks like any thing but honest; few will call it generous; all will call it unwise.

Such is the complexion of these answers to plain statements. They are lengthy, evasive, rhetorical, abounding with ingenious, but sometimes far-fetched and not always happy, illustrations, and in their representation of facts and circumstances, not always correct. The length to which our observations have already extended precludes our entering more fully into their examination.

The same cause must compel us to make short work with the remaining sections, which treat of the disuse of the Persian language, of the codification of Mohamedan and Hindu law, the increased employment of the natives, and the great interest taken by all classes of the community in native education. With much that is said we can concur; but there prevails the usual tendency to exaggeration, and the same determination to keep out of sight all that is unfavourable to the writer's own opinions. To judge from his representations, the main business of life, the one thing needful, amongst the natives of India, is English education. Nor, according to him, is this confined to India: English books have been sent to Persia, as "the students of the Royal Seminary are reported to be actuated by a strong zeal for European learning:" the Pasha of Egypt is engaged in enlightening his subjects through the medium of English: the time has certainly arrived when the ancient debt of civilization, which Europe owes to Asia, is about to be repaid; and the sciences, cradled in the East and brought to maturity in the West, are now, by a final effort, about to overspread the world! We should feel some tenderness for such visionary views, emanating as they do from amiable and benevolent feeling, if they were confined to the day-dreams of the writer, and if he had no opportunity of personally attempting to precipitate the magnificent consummation which he predicts. In his position, however, as a member of the Indian Government, they are full of peril.

In furtherance of the scheme that is to Anglicise the whole East, from the Mediterranean to the Pacific, the author next proposes to establish a school in every Zilla, at the cost of Rs. 250, or about £.25 a month, per school! The proposal speaks for itself; what sort of teachers, what sort of teaching, such an outlay will provide in India, every one acquainted with the country must be well aware. With just enough of English to mispronounce words and misunderstand their meaning, with confined notions, un-

cultivated minds, and low habits, the cheap masters, to whom such seminaries are to be intrusted, will teach—all, it is true, the pupils will desire to learn—a smattering of English, which they may think enough to qualify them for copyists and clerks, but will leave their minds worse than unenlightened, and their principles rather deteriorated than improved. Look at the latest reports of the examinations even at the Hindu College of Calcutta, undoubtedly by far the most effective establishment in Bengal, and where such persons as Dr. Mill, Mr. Tytler, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Prinsep, Sir John Grant, Capt. Richardson, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Macaulay, have discharged, at various periods, the offices of teachers or examiners; what do we find?—"In the first class, the boys had by heart the names of the dramatists in the time of Elizabeth and James I., of whose works they will probably never see a copy—Marlow, Ford, Massinger, Decker, and so on; but few of them knew that James II. was deposed." Now, if this is the result of immense expenditure and extraordinary pains, of the marked patronage of the highest authorities and the co-operation of the most distinguished talents, through a consecutive course of years; if all that is effected by such unpreeedented means—be a showy, insubstantial acquaintance with English literature, and an ignorance of the most striking facts in English history, what is to be expected from a Zilla school, with an unsupported master, indifferently acquainted even with the language he is set to teach, and absolutely incapable of comprehending its literature? What can be expected but the diffusion of ignorance and self-sufficiency, and disappointment and discontent, as the numbers of smatterers increase beyond all possible demand for their small attainments? Such was not the plan of the old committee: instead of frittering away their means on the multiplication of mere rudimental schools, they abandoned many, and resolutely refused to augment their number. It was their object to establish effective seminaries, English or native, at the chief towns alone, confident that these schools would provide teachers for all places where tuition was needed, without any burthen on the public funds. Such was the case in Calcutta; many of the pupils of the Hindu College came to set up as independent teachers, and, had the new committee not interposed, they would by this time have spread through the whole of Bengal at least. Now, they have been taught to depend on the committee for support, and independent individual exertion is for a season checked. To revert, however, to the examinations, as they appear upon the official Report, we find everywhere the lowest possible scale of acquirement, and the greatest stress laid upon the most valueless attainments, such as readiness in reading and comparative correctness of pronunciation. The class-books are, for the most part, spelling-books, grammars, and books of elementary arithmetic, in addition to which, in some few cases, the pupils have advanced to the outlines of Geography, and to the reign of King John in an abridgment of the History of England. The progress made by the first pupils of the first classes is about equal to that of a boy of seven or eight years of age in England. To this it may be replied, that there must be a beginning, and that these elementary accomplishments are but the

first steps in a course of instruction, in which in time a greater advance will be made. Not so:—No such advance will ever be made: the beginning is the end in the kind of schools instituted, and with the sort of scholars by whom they are frequented. The latter are, in almost every instance, taken from the poorest classes, who, as soon as they reach the first years of adolescence, must necessarily labour for their own subsistence; their friends and parents cannot allow them to remain at school beyond the shortest possible period. Their going beyond elementary instruction, except in a few instances in some of the principal towns, is wholly out of the question; there is not a single instance of it in the Report, except in the Hindu College of Calcutta. In many cases, indeed, the pupils have not much time to spare; they have already passed adolescence, and have only their own means of livelihood to trust to; to eke out those means, they seek to pick up a little English, and having attained as much as may recommend them for official employment of the humblest kind, they disappear, and very soon forget the little they have learned beyond the mechanical art of writing, and readiness in decyphering the letters of the language. What sort of intellectual progress can be anticipated from "individuals learning the English language in the city of Delhi," most of whom are already turned of thirty, and some of fifty, years of age? Now, we know from experience, that, in the most favourable situation, in the Hindu College, a good English scholar is not to be formed under ten or twelve years of constant tuition, and he should begin young, at seven or eight, if possible. What hope is there of Anglicising an old boy of fifty, who has half-a-dozen wives, and a score or two of children to feed, more mouths than bread? Yet, these are the persons "whose minds are to become saturated with English knowledge, whose tastes being formed by the study of English masterpieces, they will produce, not dull translations, but original works, far surpassing mediocrity;" these are the men who are to go forth into the country and regenerate the peasantry of the land, and convert Ram Sings and Hasan Alis, not merely into "mute inglorious Miltons," but "lights of the world and demigods of fame." How far this is calculated to manufacture "Hampdens," is Mr. Trevelyan's next inquiry.

We agree with him, once in a way, and think that it is our duty to communicate knowledge and truth to the natives of India, although the result should ultimately be the loss of our political ascendancy. We conceive, however, that we render no boon to the natives of England or of India in seeking to accelerate the period of their separation before all things are matured for so great a revolution; nor do we agree with him in thinking that an extensive cultivation of English literature is favourable to the perpetuity of the English connexion. "Familiarized with us, he says, by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to consider us as foreigners." We are not aware that this adds to our security: our American brethren, at the time of their separation, were united with us by the same literature, and were accustomed to regard us as countrymen. "So far," he maintains, "from having the idea of driving the English

into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connexion with the English." As to driving the English into the sea, they do not often, perhaps, cherish such insane purposes; but that they have an inkling of their natural rights—that they look forward to a period when they will assert them, and be their own rulers, is declared in newspapers conducted by native editors, in essays written by native English students, and is argued vehemently in debating clubs formed amongst native youths. The danger is not very imminent, nor is English education ever likely to be of such a description out of Calcutta, or one or two other chief towns, as to instil such feelings; but that it has spread them extensively in Calcutta is well known to all who have not chosen to close their eyes and ears to the progress of opinion. As one proof of this, we cite the following passages from the *Hindu Pioneer*, a periodical published by boys *at* college: the expressions are much more moderate than others we have seen and heard.

We take upon ourselves, in pursuance of our subject (India under foreigners), the task of pointing out the *miseries of the Indian people, both under the Moslem and Christian domination.*

The government of India (under the English) is purely aristocratical; the people have no voice in the council of legislature; they have no hand in framing the laws which regulate their civil conduct.

We need not expatiate on the monopoly of the State service, the law's delay, the insolence of office, the heavy expenses of Government, *the retirement from India of all those who acquire wealth*, and the enormous taxation to which the country is subjected—evils too well known in India.

The Mohamedans patronised merit wherever it was to be found: the English, *like the primitive Hindus*, have one *caste* of men to govern the general body.

The violent means by which foreign supremacy has been established, and the entire alienation of the people of the soil from any share in the government, nay, even from all offices of trust and power, are circumstances which no commercial, no political benefits can authorise or justify.

In another paper on "Freedom," after a flowery picture of the advantages resulting to Greece, Rome, and England, from its possession, the writer asserts, that the Hindus were much more free under their native princes than they can be under any foreign rule; and insinuates that the English, notwithstanding their high pretensions to civilization, allow not the least favourable opportunity to escape for the promotion of their own aggrandizement, at the expense of the happiness and comforts of the Hindus. Both these bear the initials of young men, with whom we are acquainted, and who, at the time of printing these and similar exemplifications of their notions of "riveting their connexions" with the English, were pursuing their studies at the only seminary which can raise the intellectual character of the people through the medium of the English language.

This is not, however, the quarter from which we dread the consequences of our projects of education: much more is to be apprehended from our own bigotry and intolerance. If, not content with promoting the study of English

temperately and impartially, we are determined to suppress, at whatever cost, the studies to which the bulk of the people attach reverence, we shall exasperate a spirit already too widely roused, and bring upon us the detestation, if not the more active hostility, of the great body of the Mohamedan and Hindu population. The former have already told the Government that they consider our "education schemes levelled at their religion;" and the latter have declared that "they feel the British rule more oppressive than that of the Mohamedan." This, too, in Bengal, where, according to our author, we have nothing to apprehend, although he admits that, in the upper provinces, the natives are "thinking of cutting the throats of the English." We are willing to believe the latter is only a specimen of his usual style, which delights something too much in hyperbole; but the former is on record. It is also to be observed, that this is the work of the last few years; it is the work of the English Exclusives of the Education Committee. No such language was ever held before 1833; no such murmurs would have been heard now, if the author of this volume and his party had not been so enamoured of their Utopian visions as to be incapable of perceiving either their mischief or impracticability.

The importance of the subject has beguiled us into a lengthened examination of a work which, judged of by its own merits, was scarcely entitled to so much attention. Considered, however, as the manifesto of a party, some of the members of which are likely to have the power of enforcing projects which, to most sober minds, must appear visionary, and which, to most men of experience in Indian affairs, must seem mischievous, it is worthy of grave consideration. If it were of any avail—which we know it is not—we should intreat the author to moderate his zeal, and to reform by degrees; and we should beg him to reconsider the points really at issue. His imagination has conjured up a bugbear, which all his faculties are screwed up to demolish. "Oriental literature" is the windmill at which he rides a-tilt. He may buffet it till his arms ache, for all we care, he will do it little harm; but we assure him we consider, along with him, that it has nothing to do with the education of the people of India. If he will but re-peruse the declaration of the old Committee, calmly and dispassionately, he will find that they never advocated the maintenance of Madressas or Hindu colleges merely for the sake of the *Koran* or the *Shasters*, but for the sake of liberality, policy, justice, and wisdom. It is illiberal to withhold all countenance from learned natives and native learning; it is impolitic to insult and anger the mass of the Mohamedans and Hindus; it is unjust to snatch from them every poor pittance which the bounty of former British Governments had substituted for the patronage of their own chiefs and princes; and it is most unwise, in the impetuous prosecution of even benevolent projects, to overlook all the obstacles, and defy all the opposition, and despise all the discontent which signs too palpable to be misunderstood denote that they provoke. We should not be lulled into dreams of security, because we have not of late been seriously disturbed; collision from without is visibly approaching; we shall be ill prepared to meet it with disaffection within. These are the

subjects which the authorities intrusted with the destinies of India have to consider, and which are essentially mixed up with the topic of the education of the people. In fact, when the discussion is duly appreciated, it will be found to be—not a struggle between Oriental and European literature—not a conflict between opposing theories of education—not a question of scholarships and schools—but a contest between tolerance and intolerance—between the principles by which our dominion in India has been preserved, and those by which it will be lost. The question really at issue is, how much longer we shall hold our Indian empire. That we should retain it for very many years longer, is essential to the prosperity of England, to the happiness of India, and to the advancement of Christianity; but such duration is hopeless, if we are perpetually insulting the religious feelings, and meddling with the religious practices of the natives. Individual zeal and piety may be as active as ever without offence, but the Government cannot forget that its subjects are Hindus and Mohamedans, without forfeiting their confidence, and provoking their resentment. It has sinned too much in this way already. It may be doubted if, at any time since we first occupied territory in India, such deep and dangerous disaffection has prevailed as exists at present. Our unsparing taxation, our long-continued and augmenting exhaustion of the resources of the country, our resumption of rent-free lands, our reduction of establishments and of public expenditure, our schemes of conversion under the mask of education and the pretext of non-interference with religious ceremonials, have spread, and are spreading, throughout India, universal alarm and discontent. The political horizon is equally overcast: both on the west and the east the faint flashes of an approaching tempest have already been displayed, and if the storm once burst on either quarter, it will immediately fall upon us with fury from the other. Engaged in hostilities with Persia, backed by Russia; with Ava, which has already insulted us; and with Nepal, preparing, if report be true, most vigorously to recover its lost power and possessions, we shall soon be entangled in a plentiful crop of domestic embarrassments, sown by our own blindness, faithlessness, and fanaticism. This is not the language of an alarmist: it is prompted by the contemplation of our proceedings in India, and by authentic information from the natives themselves, of the sentiments which they entertain: it is the language also of five out of six of the Company's servants who have recently returned from India—of men who have used the opportunities which they enjoyed of observing the signs of the times: it is the language of all who are capable of connecting causes and consequences, and who know that insidiousness begets suspicion, and that intolerance engenders hate.

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ESSAYS ON THE PURĀNAS.

II.

BY PROFESSOR HORACE HAYMAN WILSON,

Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

ESSAYS ON THE PURÁNAS. II.

THE Pádma Purána, which in the Pauranic lists occupies the second place, and in its own enumeration the first, is a work of considerable extent; according to the best authorities, and to its own statements, it consists of fifty-five thousand slokas, and the copies that are current actually contain little less than that number, or about 50,000.

The Pádma Purána occurs in various portions—according to its own text in five—the first of which treats of the appearance of Virát or Brahmá, and primary creation; it is termed the Paushkara, or Srishtí Khanda. The second describes the formation and divisions of the earth, and various places of pilgrimage, whence it is called the Bhúmí, or Tírtha Khanda. The third contains an account of the regions above the earth, and of some celebrated princes, and is called the Swarga Khanda. The genealogies of princes are comprised in the fourth part; and the fifth, containing the Brahma Gíta, explains the means by which moksha, or final emancipation, may be attained. This is the specification of the divisions of the Purána which is given in the first chapter of the Srishtí Khanda, but it is not very exactly applicable to the work as it occurs. The three first portions are rightly denominated the Srishtí, Bhúmí, and Swarga Khandas; but the fourth is called the Pátála Khanda, from its opening with a description of Pátála, the regions under the earth; and the fifth, or Uttara Khanda, is by no means restricted to philosophical discussion. There is current, however, a sixth division, the Kriyá Yoga Sára, which treats of the practice of devotion, and more nearly corresponds to the definition of the fifth portion given in the text.

The Paushkara, or Srishtí Khanda, consists of forty-six chapters and about 8500 stanzas. Lomaharshana, the disciple of Vyása, sends his son Ugrasravas the Súta to Naimisháranya, to relate the Puránas to Saunaka and other Rishis assembled at that place. At Saunaka's request he communicates to them that Purána, which, from its containing an account of the lotus (Padma), whence Brahmá appeared in order to create the world, is termed the Pádma Purána. Súta, in

replying, proclaims also his right by birth and profession to narrate the Puránas, which were in the present Kalpa imparted by Vishnu in the Matsya avatára to Brahmá, and by him to the gods in the first instance, and in the second to Lomaharshana, by Vyása, who was a form of Brahmá. We have here also the assertion that the Puránas consisted originally of 100 kotís, a thousand million of stanzas, of which 400,000 were thought sufficient for the instruction of man—the rest being preserved by the gods. Súta then recapitulates all that he purposes to narrate to the Rishis, the whole of which he says was formerly imparted by Brahmá to his will-begotten son, the patriarch Pulastya, by whom it was related at Gangadwára to Prince Bhíshma; in fact, therefore, Pulastya is the person to whom this portion of the Pádma Puráua is properly to be ascribed.

Pulastya, at the request of Bhíshma, instructs him how the universe was framed. The process is as usual in the Puránas that of the Sánkhya philosophy, or from the eternal Pradhána, proceed successively Mahat, Ahankára, the senses, the rudimental elements, and the gross elements, to which is superadded the egg of creation, as in Manu. Creation, however, is the will and act of the uncreated supreme Brahma, who takes the form of Purusha, and in that character infuses into Prakriti the germ of activity. Brahma is, in his various functions, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva; but there is a peculiarity in this chapter which deserves notice: the different Puránas commonly identify either Vishnu or Siva with the Supreme, but in this part of the Pádma, Brahmá and Brahma, the instrument and first cause of creation, are represented as the same; the primeval, excellent, beneficent, and supreme Brahma, in the form of Brahmá and the rest, is the creation and the creator, preserves and is preserved, devours and is devoured, the first immaterial cause being, as is common in the pantheism of the Puránas, also the material cause and substance of the universe; notwithstanding, however, the character here given to Brahmá, the Pádma Purána is, according to its own classification, a Vaishnava Purána, and deserves that character by its frequent intimation of the supremacy of Vishnu.

The third chapter contains an account of the divisions of time, from an instant to the life of Brahmá, conformably to the usual Pauranik chronology, and in words common to different Puránas. This is introductory to the renewal of creation, after a night of Brahmá, when that deity, in the character of Vishnu, assumed the form of a boar, and having placed the earth upon the waters, created its several divisions, and peopled them with animate and inanimate beings. We have then another detail of the creation, rather of a

mystical description, in which the different orders of beings proceed from modified conditions of the body of Brahmá. These not multiplying, Brahmá produces the Prajápatis from his will, then the Rudras, then Swayambhuva Manu, whose daughters, Akúti and Prasúti, married to Daksha and Ruchi, give birth to daughters, who are espoused to the Rishis, forming the earlier patriarchal families, which are evidently nothing more than an allegorical representation of the institution of moral obligations and ceremonial rites by certain holy personages, the first teachers of the Hindu religion. All these details occur in the same order, and in essentially the same words, in the early chapters of the Vishnu Purána.

The same identity continues with regard to the origin of Lakshmí from the churning of the ocean, but the parallel is then suspended by the introduction of the story of Daksha's sacrifice, which is narrated at some length. We have then an account of the family of the second Daksha, as in the Vishnu and other Puránas—short notices of the several Manwantaras—the story of Vena and Prithu—the origin of Vaivaswata and the descendants of the sun in the line of Ikshwáku to Srutáyus, who it is said was killed in the great war. The genealogy of this chapter is little else than a string of names, and agrees with that given in the Kurmma and Matsya Puránas, better than with that of the Vishnu.

Bhíshma then requests to be informed of the origin and nature of the Pitris, or progenitors of mankind; in reply to which, Pulastya describes the Sráddha, or offerings to deceased ancestors, and the merits of its celebration, particularly at Gaya. These subjects, illustrated by the story of Brahmadatta, as it occurs also in the Hari Vansa, occupy three chapters, from the ninth to the eleventh inclusive. The two next chapters contain an account of the dynasty of lunar princes to the time of Krishna and his immediate posterity, rather more in detail than the solar genealogy, but the same in substance as in other Puránas.

We have next a series of legends relating to the wars between the gods and Titans or Asuras, which, although not restricted to the Pádma Purána, are in some degree peculiar in their order and details. The Asuras are described as enjoying the ascendency over the Devatas, when Vrihaspati, taking advantage of their leader Sukra's being enamoured of a nymph of heaven, sent by Indra to interrupt his penance, comes amongst the former as Sukra, and misleads them into irreligion by preaching heretical doctrines; the doctrines and practices he teaches are Jain, and in a preceding passage it is said that the sons of Raji embraced the Jina Dharmma—

notices which are of some value with regard to the age of the compilation.

An inquiry into the cause of the enmity that prevailed between the two heroes, Karna and Arjuna, suggests a curious legend of a quarrel between Brahmá and Siva, in which a being born from the perspiration of the former puts the latter to flight. Siva repairs to Vishnu, who offers to put alms into Siva's dish, when Siva pierces the hand of Vishnu, and the blood that flows in consequence fills the Kapála, and becomes a Nara, a man—the saint Nara in another birth, and Arjuna in another. Brahmá's progeny becomes in a succeeding existence Karna, and hence the hostility of the two, the legend considering them evidently as types of the followers of Brahmá and of Siva in a contest for superiority. The same notion of a struggle between the two sects prevails in what follows. The lustre of Brahmá's fifth head excites the envy of the gods, and Siva, at their suggestion, tears it off. To expiate the crime of injuring a Brahman, Siva, by the advice of Vishnu, repairs to various Tírthas, and this leads to the Pushkara Máhátmya, or the description of the holiness of Pushkara or Pokhar Lake near Ajmeer, a subject that more or less pervades the rest of the Srishti Khanda from the fifteenth chapter to the end.

The praises of Pushkara, instructions for bathing and worshipping there, and the efficacy of gifts and sacrifices performed at this sacred spot, are abundantly interspersed with legends, some peculiar to the work and to the subject, and others belonging to the general body of tradition and mythology, but rather arbitrarily connected in the Pádma Purána with the sanctity of Pushkara. Of the former class we have Brahmá's throwing down a lotus (Pushkara) from heaven, whence the name of the place where it fell; his performing a solemn sacrifice there; his marriage with Gáyatrí; the displeasure of his former bride Sávitrí, in consequence of which she denounced imprecations on all the gods and Brahmans; the metamorphosis of King Prabhanjana to a tiger, and his liberation; the fidelity of the cow Nandá, and her elevation to heaven; and similar stories, some of which are curious, but most puerile. Of fictions which are to be found in several other Puránas, we have the death of Vritrásura by Indra's vajra, or thunderbolt, formed of the bones of the sage Dadhíchi, and Agastya's humbling the Vindhya mountain, drinking up the ocean, and destroying the Asuras who had sought refuge beneath its waters. The bed of the ocean was afterwards replenished by King Bhagíratha when he brought the Ganges from heaven.

The subjects that next occur are Vratas, or acts of self-denial and devotion, to be performed on particular occasions, as on the third lunation of each month in the year, when worship is to be addressed to some form or other of Gaurí, either with or without her consort Siva; also on certain specified days, as the Vibhúta Dwádasí, Visoka Dwádasí, Kalyána Saptamí, Bhaimi Ekádasí, and others, illustrated as usual by legends, amongst which the birth of Vasishtha and Agastya occurs, and the story of the latter's drinking the ocean is repeated as introductory to the efficacy of worshipping Agastya at Pushkara Tírtha. Márkandeya Muni's going in pilgrimage to Pushkara gives occasion to some account of him, and of his intercourse with Rámachandra, who passed a month at Pushkara, and performed Sráddha there when on his way to the scene of his exile, circumstances of which the Rámáyana takes no notice. Kshemankari Deví, a form of Durga residing at Pushkara, is wooed by Mahishásura, whose origin is related; he attempts to carry her off by force, but is slain, and an account is then given of some other exploits of the goddess. We have then a eulogium of the merits of giving food and drink, illustrated by the punishment of Sweta, king of Ilavrata-varsha, condemned to gnaw his own bones after death, as a penance for his omitting to distribute food in charity whilst he lived; and by anecdotes of Rámachandra, including the history of Danda, after whom the Dandakáranya, or great southern forest, was named; Ráma acts as an umpire between a vulture and an owl in a dispute for a nest, and the nest being assigned to the owl, the vulture, who was King Brahmadatta, condemned to this transformation, resumes his form and goes to heaven. After returning to Ayodhyá, and celebrating the Rájasúya sacrifice, Ráma again travels to the South, and pays a visit to Vibhíshana: on his quitting Lanká he broke down the bridge that connected the island with the main land, and on his way home visited Pushkara and shook hands with Brahmá.

After these legends we have an account of the creation in the Pádma Kalpa, prefaced by a second detail of the divisions of time, closing in a periodical dissolution; during which Náráyana, sleeping upon the waters, is beheld by Márkandeya Muni, who, by desire of the deity, enters the celestial body, and beholds in it all existent things. This legend occurs in several Puránas, particularly in that which bears the name of the Muni. Brahmá, then becoming manifest from a golden lotus, creates the world and its divisions out of the several parts of the lotus, whence this period of creation is called the Pádma Kalpa. After the formation of the world, and the destruc-

tion of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha who sought to destroy Brahmá, by Vishnu, the work proceeds as before, through the intervention of the mind-engendered Prajápatis, the daughters of Daksha, and progeny of Kasyapa. The concluding chapters describe the wars of the gods and demons, the destruction of Máya and Kálanemi by Vishnu, and the birth of Skanda for the destruction of Táraka, the overthrow and death of the demon, and Skanda's marriage with Devasená. "Then," concludes Suta, "Pulastya departed, and Bhíshma having become filled with true knowledge, returned to his government of Hastinapura." A final chapter contains a tolerably copious index of the contents of the Srishti Khanda.

Bhúmi Khanda. The second division of the Pádma Purána is of much the same extent as the first, containing about 7500 stanzas, which are distributed amongst 133 short chapters. It opens with a question put by the Rishis to Súta, how it happened that Prahráda, or Prahláda, a daitya, and natural enemy of the gods, could have been inspired with the devotion he entertained for Vishnu, and finally united with that deity. Súta replies by stating, that the same question had been formerly asked of Brahmá by Vyása, and he repeats Brahmá's answer as Vyása had communicated it to him, which is a narrative of Prahláda's birth and actions in a preceding kalpa. This allusion to Prahláda, it may be observed, without any preliminary details, implies a knowledge of his history, which can only be derived from some earlier work; what this may have been, it is not very possible to ascertain, as the legend occurs in several Puránas, and mention is made of Prahláda in the Mahábhárata. For his character, however, of a devout worshipper of Vishnu, the Vishnu Purána and Bhágavata are the especial authorities.

In order to account for Prahláda's eminence as a Vaishnava, Súta repeats a story of Sivasarman, a Brahman of Dwáraká, who had five sons, equally remarkable for their piety and filial devotion. The latter is put to the test in various ways by their father, and being proof against every trial, the father and the four elder sons are united after death with Vishnu; Somasarman, the fifth son, was also desirous of the same elevation, and was engaged at Sálagráma Kshetra in that contemplation on Vishnu which it is the great object of this part of the Pádma Purána to inculcate as the most efficacious means of union with the divinity, as it is here said, "The imperishable state is not obtained by sacrifice, by penance, by abstract meditation, by holy knowledge, but by thinking upon Vishnu: the destroyer of Madhu is not beheld through gifts or through pilgrimage, but through the union that is effected by intense contemplation: the

Brahman enters the state of Vishnu by the road of profound mental identification." Whilst Somasarman is endeavouring to effect this coalescence, an alarm spreads through the hermitage that the Daityas are approaching, and a loud clamour ensues which distracts his thoughts, and fills his mind with fear of the foes of the gods; he dies whilst under these apprehensions, and is consequently born again as a member of that race which engrossed his last thoughts. He is born as Prahláda, the son of Hiranyakasipu, a daitya, but from the influence of his former life a worshipper of Vishnu. In the war between the gods and demons, however, he takes part with his family, and is killed by the discus of Vishnu. He is again born of the same parents and with the same name, and is then the Prahláda who is the hero of the usual story, the pious son of an impious father, the latter of whom was destroyed by Vishnu in the Nrisinha, or man-lion avatára, and the former was raised to the rank of Indra for his life, and finally united with Vishnu. The Pádma Purána, therefore, in borrowing the subject of this legend from other sources, has added to it circumstances peculiar to itself, evidently of sectarial tenor, and comparatively recent invention.

The elevation of Prahláda to the rank of king of heaven—a dignity which no other Puránas assign him, although they make him monarch over a division of Pátála—suggests to the Rishis an inquiry into the nature of celestial dominion, and upon whom and by whom it is conferred; and this introduces a legend of the birth of a king of the gods, or Indra, as the son of Kasyapa and Aditi, in consequence of a boon to that effect promised to Aditi by Vishnu. Kasyapa's other wives, Diti and Danu, the mothers of the Daityas and Dánavas, feeling mortified at the inferiority of their children to those of their sister-wife Aditi, Kasyapa, in order to console them, enters upon a long philosophical disquisition upon the nature of body and soul. The discussion is conducted in the form of an allegory, in which the Senses endeavour to negotiate a perpetual alliance with Soul, and Soul, after several vain struggles to evade all connexion with the Senses, at last escapes from them altogether by the aid of meditation.

After describing the determination of the chief Daityas to raise themselves to a level with the gods by arduous penance, the Rishis rather abruptly ask Súta to tell them the story of a Brahman called Suvrata, the son of Somasarman and Sumanas, who was a devoted worshipper of Vishnu, and who became, therefore, in a future birth, Indra, the son of Kasyapa and Aditi. The legend is an insipid sectarial fiction, but contains some curious matter, especially regarding virtue and vice, the reward of the former and punishment of the

latter after death, the road to the judgment-seat of Yama, his appearance, and the tortures to which sinners are condemned. The text then reverts to the austerities of the demons, and particularly those of Hiranyakasipu, which compel Brahmá to grant him a boon that he shall not be slain by any living creature; it therefore becomes necessary for Vishnu to destroy him in the non-descript form of the Nrisinha; whilst in the Avatára of the boar, he puts to death Hiranyáksha and other demons. These events are briefly referred to, and are but introductory to a longer legend of the birth of Vritra, the son of Diti, for the destruction of Indra, and of his being circumvented and slain by the deity. We have then the story of Indra's cutting to pieces another offspring of Diti, destined to be his foe whilst yet in the womb, and thus giving rise to the forty-nine Maruts or winds.

In like manner as Indra was made king of the gods, different persons or things were appointed by Brahmá supreme over their respective orders of beings; and amongst these, the list of which conforms with that which occurs in other Puránas, Prithu, the son of Vena, was made monarch of the earth. This leads to the story of Vena and Prithu, which is narrated in the usual manner and customary words; but a supplement is added to the legend of Vena, which is peculiar to this Purána. According to this, Tunga, the son of Atri, having propitiated Náráyana, by penance, obtained a son equal to Indra; this son was Vena, who was made by the Rishis the first king of the earth; he commenced his reign auspiciously, but lapsing into the Jain heresy, the sages deposed him and pummelled him until the Nisháda, or progenitor of the wild races, was extracted from his left thigh, and Prithu from his right arm. Being freed from sin by the birth of the Nisháda, Vena retires to the banks of the Narmadá, where he performs penance in honour of Vishnu, who appears to him, and reads him a lecture on the merit of gifts of various kinds, especially at different holy places or Tírthas. But persons are also considered as Tírthas, as a Guru, a father, a wife; and in illustration of this latter, Vishnu tells a story of Sukalá, the wife of a Vaisya, who, having gone on pilgrimage, leaves Sukalá in great affliction; her female friends come to console her, and their conversation includes many precepts for the conduct of women, exemplified by narratives. Sukalá continuing to mourn for her absent lord, Kámadeva and Indra attempt to seduce her from her faith, but are foiled, and she remains faithful to her husband, who returns from pilgrimage, and receives blessings from heaven in recompense of the virtues of his wife.

Another series of tales is recited by Vishnu, in illustration of a parent's being a Tírtha, or holy shrine. It commences with an account of the filial piety of Sukarman, the son of Kundala, a Brahman of Kurukshetra, but branches off into several other stories: one of the most remarkable of these is a narrative, of which the original is to be found in the Mahábhárata, that of Yayáti's transferring his infirmities to his son Puru. It is embellished, however, in this place, with much additional matter, and begins with Yayáti's being invited by Indra to heaven, and being conveyed on the way thither by Mátali, Indra's charioteer. A philosophical conversation takes place between the king and Mátali, in which the imperfection of all corporeal existence, and the incomplete felicity of every condition of life are discussed. These attributes belong, it is said, even to the gods themselves, for they are affected with disease, subject to death, disgraced by the passions of lust and anger, and are consequently instances of imperfection and of misery. Various degrees of vice are then described, and their prevention or expiation are declared to be the worship of Siva or Vishnu, between whom there is no difference; they are but one, as is the case indeed with Brahmá also; for "Brahmá, Vishnu, and Maheswara, are one form, though three gods: there is no difference between the three: the difference is that of attributes alone." The result of the conversation is, that Yayáti returns to earth, where, by his virtuous administration, he renders all his subjects exempt from passion and decay. Yama complains that men no longer die, and Indra sends Kámadeva and his daughter Asruvindumati to endeavour to excite passion in the breast of Yayáti; they succeed, and it is in order to become a fit husband for the latter that the aged king applies to his sons to give him their youth in exchange for his decrepitude. As elsewhere related, they all refuse, except Puru, the youngest. After a time, however, Yayáti is prevailed upon by the persuasion of his young bride, at the instigation of Indra, to go to heaven, on which he restores his youth to Puru, and proceeds with his subjects to Indra, who sends them to Siva, and he directs them to Vishnu, in whose sphere they obtain a final abode.

We then come to a series of narratives in illustration of the assertion that a Guru, or spiritual preceptor, is a Tírtha. Chyavana, the son of Bhrigu, wandering over the world in pilgrimage, comes to the south bank of the Narmadá, where a Linga, called Omkára, is erected; and having worshipped it, he sits under an Indian fig-tree, where he overhears a conversation between Kunjara, an old parrot, and his four sons, in which the latter relate to the former what they

have beheld in their flight during the day. Several stories are narrated, the moral of which is the same, the good effects of venerating holy men, and meditating upon Vishnu. In the course of them, the efficacy of various holy places in expiating sin is described, and in one of the stories it appears that the Ganges, the lake Mánasa, Prayága, Pushkara, and Benares, are of less sanctity than the river Revá or Narmadá in various parts of its course, as at the confluence of the Kubjá, Kapilá, Meghanádá, and Chichuká, at Saivágára, Bhrigukshetra, Mahishmatí, Srikantha, and Mandaleswara, places which are little known beyond their immediate vicinity, and of which the specification indicates the local origin of this part at least of the Purána. One long narrative is peculiar to the work, and relates to the destruction of the demon Tunda by Nahusha, the son of Ayus, and the marriage of the latter with Asokasundarí, the daughter of Párvati. We have also an account of the destruction of Vitunda, the son of Tunda, by Bhagavatí herself. Kunjara then relates to Chyavana an account of the preceding births of his sons and himself.

After this, Vishnu desires Vena to demand a boon, and he solicits to be incorporated with the deity; Vishnu tells him first to celebrate an Aswamedha, after which the king shall become one with himself, and he then disappears. The conversation between Vena and Vishnu extends from the fortieth to the end of the one hundred and eighteenth chapter.

Prithu enables his father Vena to consummate the sacrifice, by which he is united to Vishnu, and this incident illustrates the efficacy of a son considered as a Tírtha. The Jangama, or moveable Tírthas, being thus disposed of, Súta proceeds, in the words of Vyása, to describe the Sthávara, the fixed or geographical Tírthas. The principal of those that are named are Pushkara, Mahákála, the Narmadá, the Charmanvati or Chambal, Arbuda or Abu, Prabhása, the confluence of the Saraswati with the ocean, Dwáravatí, and the mouths of the Indus, the Vitasthá river, the source of the Deviká, Kámákhyá in Asam, and Kurukshetra. There are many others, most of which are now unknown: one called Rámahrada, the lake of Ráma, introduces the familiar legend of Parasuráma, and his destruction of the warrior race, which is told in the usual strain, but more concisely than in some other works. The subject of Tírthas continues to the end of the hundred and twenty-seventh chapter.

In the next chapter the compiler seems to have recollected the purport of the appellation of this part of the Pádma Purána, and the Rishis ask Súta to give them a description of the earth; in reply, he repeats an account attributed to the great serpent

Sesha, and related by him to Vátsyáyana and other sages assembled at the coronation of Vásuki as king of the serpent race, in which the seven Dwípas, or insular zones, that form the earth, and the Lokáloka mountain which surrounds the whole, are described in the usual manner. In the account of Jambu-dwípa, we have the usual details concerning the several Varshas, and mountains that separate them and Mount Meru and its surrounding elevations. The details, however, are not very particular or full, and are exclusively of a mythological character.

The last chapter of this khanda, as well as that of the Srishti khanda, contains a tolerably copious index.

Swarga Khanda. The third division of the Pádma Purána consists of about 4000 stanzas in forty chapters; it carries on the dialogue between Sesha and the Rishis with which the previous portion concluded, and which Súta continues to repeat.

Vátsyáyana having asked Sesha to give him and the other Munis a description of the regions above the earth, the snake-god replies by referring to a conversation on this subject between a messenger of Vishnu and King Bharata. The mention of the latter suggests to Vátsyáyana to inquire into his history; and the first five chapters of the work are appropriated to the narrative of Sakuntalá and Dushyanta, in which the drama of Kalídása is evidently the authority that has been followed. Bharata, the son of Dushyanta, after reigning with glory, becomes a worshipper of Vishnu, in consequence of which Sunanda, a servant of the deity, is sent to convey the king, after his resigning his crown to his son, to Vaikuntha. On the way Bharata asks him to give him an account of the regions which they traverse, and Sunanda accordingly describes to him the situation and extent of the different Lokas or spheres above the earth. The same contrivance occurs in other works, and especially in the Kásí Khand of the Skanda Purána, from which possibly the idea has been borrowed.

The atmosphere, planetary regions, heaven, and the four upper worlds, Mahar, Jana, Tapas, and Satya, are noticed briefly in the usual manner, and above these is placed Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, according to this authority. Recurring to the subject, Sunanda then proceeds to describe in detail the subdivisions of these super-terrene realms, the Lokas or spheres, inhabited by various orders of beings, as the Bhútas, Pisáchas, Gandharbas, Vidyádharas, and Apsarasas, adverting also to the circumstances which people these aërial districts, or obtain for mortals a place in them after death. When describing the Apsaraloka, Sunanda relates the story of

Purúravas and Urvasí after the ordinary Pauranik fashion, with the addition that Purúravas, by worshipping the Gandharbas, obtained a residence with Urvasí in the sphere of the nymphs, and that Bharata, by transferring to him the merit of all the sacrifices he had performed in honour of Vishnu, enabled him to proceed to Vaikuntha.

We have then accounts of the Lokas of the sun, Indra, Agni, Yama, the Dikpálas, Varuna, Váyu, interspersed with stories. At the Loka of Kuvera an account of the origin of Rávana, and his expelling Kuvera from Lanká is related. The lunar sphere, or Loka of Soma, affords occasion for the usual legends of the birth of Soma and of Budha, of Daksha's cursing Soma to be afflicted with consumption, as the punishment of his neglecting all his wives except one, Rohiní, and his consequent alternations of increase and wane. In like manner the Loka of Saturn introduces the story of his birth from the wife of the sun, and that of Dhruva suggests the legend of Dhruva's adoration of Vishnu, and his elevation to the dignity of the Polar Star. After rising above this sphere, and passing by the upper Lokas, which are again briefly described, Bharata is carried by Sunanda to Vaikuntha.

Vátsyáyana then asks Sesha to tell him what princes of the solar and lunar races, who were celebrated when on earth for their religious acts, were raised to heaven. Sesha in reply repeats several narratives, which seem to be preserved in their most ancient and authentic form in the Rámáyana and Mahábhárata, and to have been thence transferred to the Puránas with various degrees of detail and modification. In this work they are narrated at length, and embellished occasionally with additions, which are evidence of a corrupt taste and of a comparatively recent date. The narratives are Sagara's exploits and sacrifice, the death of his sons by Kapila's wrath, the birth of Bhagiratha and his bringing Ganga upon earth, the origin of the demon Dhundu, here called the son of Madhu, and his destruction by Kuvalayáswa, thence termed Dhundumára; the generosity of King Sivi in offering his own flesh to rescue a pigeon from the gripe of a hawk, the birds being in fact Indra and Agni, who had assumed their shape to put the benevolence of Sivi to the test; his further trial by Brahmá; the sacrifice of Marutta; Divodása's reign at Kásí; Siva's regaining possession of that sacred city; and the birth and piety of Mándhátri.

At an Aswamedha performed by Mándhátri, the king is visited by Nárada, and a conversation takes place, in which the sage gives a brief description of the course of creation conformably to the Sánkhya tenets. Speaking of the origin of the four castes, Nárada

explains their respective obligations, and then proceeds to the duties of the different ásramas or periods of life. Under the last order, he expounds the nature of yoga, practical and speculative, or Karma yoga and Jnáṁa yoga. He then details the Sadácháras, or daily observances, incumbent on all classes of men, ceremonial, purificatory, moral, and devotional. The latter are, of course, to be addressed especially to Vishnu, and to the types of him, the principal of which is the Sálagráma stone, or Ammonite, without which, it is said, worship should not be offered. This fossile is said to be the present Vishnu with his discus, and to drink of the water in which it has been immersed, is described as a sure means of obtaining emancipation during life, and being united with Vishnu after death. Great efficacy is also ascribed to sectarial marks, which are to be made after bathing, and before all religious rites, on the top of the arms, the chest, the throat, and the forehead. The merit of fasting on the ekádasí, or eleventh lunation, and the heinous crime of eating on a day sacred to Vishnu, are then pointed out, and the whole offers a sufficiently decisive indication of the character of the compilation as a purely sectarial work.

Several sections are then devoted to a description of the things that may or may not be eaten; to modes and times of dressing and anointing the person, to postures in which it is proper to sit or lie on different occasions, to the crime of slandering a venerable person, on which it is observed, that Siva is excluded from all share in oblations, on account of his disrespectful conduct towards his father-in-law, Daksha; to lucky and unlucky omens; to actions proper and improper, according to particular seasons; to the favourable characteristics of a wife, and to a variety of injunctions and prohibitions.

Mándhátri's asking Nárada if he had ever known any person who had lived a hundred years, a singular question by the way for a monarch to put, who, according to Pauranik tradition, lived at a period when a reign of many thousand years was no rarity, Nárada tells him a tale of Brahmaketu, son of Viswaketu, king of Drávira, who was doomed to die in his sixteenth year, but who, by advice of Angiras, went to Benares, and lay down in the path of Yama, when on a visit to Siva. Yama, who never deviates from a straight path and even an equal step, and could, therefore, neither walk round Brahmaketu, nor stride over him, at last, to induce him to rise, promised to allow him to live a century, which accordingly happened. There is an underplot of Brahmaketu's marrying the daughter of the king of Kámpilla, in lieu of the hunchbacked son of the

king of Kekaya, which has some resemblance to a story in the Arabian nights.

Mándhátri next asks Nárada to explain to him what he meant by Sivas's ill-behaviour to his father-in-law, on which Nárada relates the story of Daksha's sacrifice, much in the usual strain, but concisely, and making no mention of Vishnu amongst the guests. Daksha also is permitted to complete the rite, the head of a goat being substituted for his own, which he had lost in the affray.

In reply to other questions put by Mándhátri, Nárada describes the actions by which an individual is sentenced to heaven or hell; the Brahmans who are entitled to gifts and to respect, the necessity of regal government, the consequences of a good or evil administration, the duties of kings, the succession and duration of the four Yugas, and the temporary dissolution of the world. Nárada then takes leave of the king, and goes to the heaven of Indra. A somewhat abrupt introduction of the Muni Saubhari and his marriage with the daughters of Mándhátri then occurs, after which, the king completes his sacrifice and goes to heaven, with which the series of narratives terminates. The last chapter is an index of the contents of the Bhúmi Khanda.

The Pátála Khanda of the Pádma Purána, contains 102 chapters and about 9000 stanzas. It commences with a continuation of the dialogue between Vátsyáyana and Sésha, in which the snake-god describes the different regions of Pátála.

The first, Atala, is subject to Mahámáya. Vitala the second, to a form of Siva, called Hátakeswara, the third Sutala to Bali, who, on one occasion, made Rávana prisoner, which legend is related. Máya reigns over Talátala, the fourth division, he having been raised to that dignity after the destruction of his three cities by Siva, an account of which exploit is detailed. In Mahátala, the fifth region, reside the great serpents; and in Rasátala, the sixth, the Daityas and Dánavas. The chief Nágas, or snake-gods, under their monarch Vásuki, occupy the lowermost of the subterranean kingdoms, that which is especially called Pátála.

In the account of Rávana's captivity by Bali, mention was made of his future death by Vishnu, in the form of Ráma, a prince of the solar dynasty, and Vátsyáyana referring to this, asks Sesha to give him an account of some of the most celebrated monarchs of this family, and of the descent of Vishnu as Ráma. Sesha accordingly commences with the origin of the Manu Vaivaswata from Aditya, the son of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of Brahmá, previous to whose Manwantara, the Manu was preserved by Vishnu, in the

Matsya, or fish Avatára, in a ship during the deluge; the account is in substance the same with that which is given in the Matsya and other Puránas. Sesha then continues with the descendants of Ikshwáku, the order and names of whom conform most nearly with the same in the Bhágavata, although few details are given. Amongst them we have the story of Harischandra's sacrifice and elevation to heaven, and Saudása's transformation to a cannibal. The genealogy is then continued to the immediate predecessors of Ráma, and the greater part of the remainder of the work is then devoted to the history of that monarch, and the actions of himself and of the princes of his house.

The story of Dilípa and his service of the cow Nandiní, the birth and reign of Raghu, the marriage of Aja, and death of his wife Indumatí, and the birth of Dasaratha, are told exactly in the same manner as in the Raghu Vansa, and although in a less poetical style, yet frequently in the same words. In the account of Dasaratha we have a legend of his assailing Sani, or Saturn, who had caused a dearth, the king's car falling from heaven at the angry glances of the planet, was upstayed by the bird Jatáyu, and Dasaratha was thus enabled to accomplish his object, and partly compel and partly propitiate Sani to withdraw his obstruction to the fall of rain. These stories of Ráma's ancestors extend from the fifth to the end of the twelfth chapter, and from thence to the end of the 27th, we have in the accounts of the birth of Dasaratha's sons, the actions of Ráma, his exile, his conquest of Lanká, and his return with Sítá to Ayodhyá, nothing more than an epitome of the Rámáyana.

The compiler of the Purána appears, however, to have had again recourse to the Raghu Vansa, for the events that occurred after Ráma's return to his capital, the dismissal of Sítá to the hermitage of Válmíki, the death of the demon Lavana by Satrughna, and foundation of Mathurá, the birth of Ráma's sons, Kusa and Lava, Sítá's being swallowed up by the earth, and Ráma's ascending to heaven with his followers and subjects.

Vátsyáyana unwearied of a tale of which Ráma is the hero, solicits further particulars from Sesha, and the snake-god details Ráma's return to Ayodhyá more fully, and dilates upon his meeting with his brother Bharata, and the widows of his father. He then describes the visit of Agastya to Ayodhyá, when the sage relates some of the circumstances of the history of Rávana, in which the Uttara Kánda of the Rámáyana has been followed, with the addition that Rávana being a Brahman by birth, Ráma incurred, in putting him to death, a guilt which can only be expiated by an Aswamedha.

Accordingly the rite is described, and the horse intended for the sacrifice let loose, attended by a body of troops under the command of Satrughna. The adventures of the steed and his attendants form the subject of a number of chapters, from the thirty-fifth to the ninetieth.

One of the first places of note to which the horse comes, is Ahichchhatra, a city, which, according to the Mahábhárata, lies north of the Ganges, and which here seems to be in Asam, for adjoining to it is the temple of Kámákhyá, a form of Durgá, which has been long especially worshipped in that part of India. The temple it is said was constructed by Sumada, the king of Ahichchhatra, at the time of Satrughna's arrival, in consequence of the goddess having restored him to his dominions, from which he had been driven by his foes. From hence Satrughna marches to the banks of the Payoshní, a river which, according to the Pauranik lists, rises from the Vindhya mountains, and is rather incongruously, therefore, placed in succession to Asam. It is noticed, however, for the purpose of introducing the legend of the Muni Chyavana, which is narrated more fully here than in any other Purána. The next place described is the Níla mountain and Purushottama Kshetra, or Jagannath, which involves a legend of Ratnagríva, king of Kánchí (Conjeveram), who, going in pilgrimage to the mouth of the Ganges, makes a very extraordinary detour by the Gandakí river, all geography being here sacrificed to a determination to eulogize the Sálagráma, which sacred stone is commonly obtained in the Gandak. Satrughna ascends the Nila mountain, and worships Purushottama. He next proceeds to Chakránka the capital of Subáhu, where the horse is detained by Damana, the son of Subáhu, and a fierce conflict ensues, which ends in the triumph of Satrughna, and the recovery of the steed. We have then an account of Satyavat, king of Tejaspura, who was born to his father in reward of his cherishing a cow, the great importance of which is illustrated by a legend of Janaka, who, notwithstanding his being the father-in-law of Ráma, was condemned to hell for having struck a cow. His virtues, however, were such, as not only to make his going there a mere matter of form, but to enable him to redeem all the damned whom he beheld in Tartarus.

The horse is then stolen by the Asura Vidyunmálin, but the theft is detected and the demon slain. He then leads his guards to the hermitage of Aranyaka, who questions Satrughna and his companions concerning Ráma, and in consequence repairs to Ayodhyá, where he is incorporated with the demigod. The steed next falls

into the Narmadá, but is followed by the warriors to the caverns of the river-goddesses, and they restore the horse: he then becomes the subject of a still more formidable encounter, being carried off by Rukmángada, the son of Víramani, king of Devapura. The heroes of Satrughna's host are, in the first instance, victorious, and the king and his son are left for dead, when Siva, of whom Víramani was a worshipper, comes with Vírabhadra to the aid of his votaries. Pushkala, Satrughna's chief captain, is beheaded by Vírabhadra, and Satrughna struck down senseless by Siva, but Hanumán, after arresting Siva's progress, brings the drug that reanimates the dead and restores his friends to life; the battle is renewed, but Siva continuing to have the best of it, Ráma himself is obliged to appear. Siva then retreats after offering worship to Ráma, and Víramani, who has been also revived, relinquishes the horse and his kingdom.

Several other stories of this kind occur. At last, the horse comes to Válmíki's hermitage, where he is detained by Lava, the son of Ráma, yet a youth. The mention of his name leads to a repetition of the story of Sítá's being separated from Ráma, with the addition of its cause, her having, when a girl, caught two parrots, and having let the male go, but kept the female; the latter, after pronouncing an imprecation on Sítá that she should be separated from her husband, died of grief, but repeating the name of Ráma to the last, went to heaven; the male threw himself into the Ganges, and was born again as a washerman in Ayodhyá, in which character he became the main agent in Sítá's exile, for discovering that his wife had spent some time in another man's house, he reviled, and beat her, and when his mother-in-law endeavoured to prevail upon him to forgive her daughter, he replied, "Not I. I am not the king. I am not Ráma, who took back Sítá after she had lost her character in the dwelling of the Rákshas." These words being reported to Ráma by his spies, induced the king to send his wife away, and she was taken accordingly to the hermitage of Válmíki, where she bore two sons, Kusa and Lava. This part of the work agrees in some respects with the Uttara Ráma Charitra, but has several gossiping and legendary additions. Kusa, coming to Lava's aid, they defeat all Satrughna's warriors, including Sugríva and Hanumán, but by their mother's injunctions, they release the horse, who is then conveyed to Ayodhyá, where Sumati, the counsellor of Satrughna, reports to Ráma all that has happened to the party. The account of Kusa and Lava excites Ráma's curiosity, and he sends for Válmíki to inform him who they are. This leads to his discovery of his sons and his reunion with Sítá. The Aswamedha takes place, but at the

instant when Ráma is about to slay the victim, he becomes a celestial person, being a Brahman, condemned by Durvásas, for hypocrisy, to wear the shape of a horse until released and sanctified by Ráma he goes to heaven. These details succeed an account of the reign of Kuśa, and a summary list of his successors, until the solar line ends with Sumitra in the ninety-seventh chapter. Here also closes the dialogue between Sesha and Vátsyáyana, the latter thanking the former for his narrations, and taking leave of him to wander over the earth.

The Rishis then ask Súta to inform them what is the sum and substance of the Puránas. He is not allowed to answer in his own person, but repeats a dialogue between Siva and Párvatí on the subject, which at first is a repetition of a discourse between the sage Gautama and the sovereign Ambarísha, in which the former details to the latter, at his request, the names of the eighteen Puránas, and the number of verses contained in each. There is one important peculiarity in this list; not only is the Bhágavata placed last, but it is said, "Vyása first promulgated the Pádma, then sixteen others, and finally the Bhágavata, as the extracted substance of all the rest, which he taught in twelve Skandhas or books, to his son Suka." The merits of the Bhágavata as the text-book of the Vaishnava faith, are then eulogized, and the particulars alluded to, leave no doubt of the work intended, or of the priority of the Bhágavata to the Pátála Khanda of the Pádma Purána.

The conversation between Sadásiva and Parvatí, is continued through all the remaining chapters, except the last. In reply to the inquiries of the latter, the former relates to her a description of Vrindávana and some of the sports of Krishna amongst the gopis, or milk maids of Gokula, in illustration of the character of the tenth book of the Bhágavata, which is dedicated to the life of that demigod. We have, however, anecdotes not found in that work, relating to Rádhá, the favourite mistress of Krishna, to the origin of the Gopis, and to the temporary transformation of Nárada and Arjuna to females. The distinguishing duties and characteristics of Vaishnavas, or followers of Vishnu, and the efficacy of the Sálagráma stone, of sectarial marks on the person, of chaplets and rosaries, of the Tulasi, or sacred Basil, and of worshipping Vishnu on certain days in each month, are then detailed at some length, and this Khanda, like the other, concludes with a tolerably copious chapter of contents.

Uttara Khanda. The last section of the Pádma Purána. This portion is more considerable than either of the preceding, consisting of about 12,000 stanzas, distributed amongst 174 chapters.

Manuscripts of this portion of the Pádma Purána present a variety in their arrangement; some commencing with the legend of Jalandhara, as in the case of the copy of which I possess the index, and in that from which Col. Vans Kennedy has translated that story: whilst the copy consulted on the present occasion begins with Dilípa's going a-hunting and concludes with the narrative of Jalandhara. This order is confirmed by the Anukrama, or chapter of contents, with which the work concludes.

According to this copy, the Uttara Khanda commences, rather abruptly, it must be admitted, with Súta's stating that after king Dilípa had been crowned, he went forth from his capital to the chase. In the wood he met Vriddha Hárita, a sage, who commended his having bathed in a pool in the forest, as ablution in the month of Mágha is peculiarly efficacious; he referred Dilípa for further information on this point to the Muni Vasishtha, and the king accordingly repaired to that sage for instruction. Vasishtha's communications to Dilipa on the subject of various observances which are to be held sacred by the worshippers of Vishnu, and the virtue of which is illustrated by a number of legends, mostly of sectarial and comparatively recent origin, constitute the substance of this extensive but uninteresting compilation.

Vasishtha first relates to Dilípa an account of Bhrigu's residing in the Himálaya mountains, and enjoining a Vidyádhara, who has a tiger's head, to bathe in the month of Mágha, by which he gets quit of the deformity; he then repeats a story told by Dattatreya to Sahasrárjuna, of Rishíká, a Brahman female, who, in consequence of bathing in the month of Mágha, dwelt four thousand ages in Vaikuntha, and was then born as the Apsaras Tilottamá, for the purpose of causing the mutual destruction of Sunda and Upasunda, an incident taken from the Mahábhárata. Other legends to the same purport are then narrated, of which it will be sufficient to notice the following:—Srikundala and Vikundala were the sons of a Vaisya, who dissipated their property in profligate pleasures: after death, the former was sentenced to the Raurava hell, the latter to Swarga, much to his own surprise, as he had led the same abandoned life as his elder brother. He had, however, once bathed in the Jumna, in the month of Mágha, and hence proceeded his different destiny. Kánchanamáliní became an Apsaras by bathing in the month of Mágha at Prayága, and by giving the merit of three days' ablutions to a Rákshas, she liberated him from that state, and enabled him to ascend to Swarga. Five Apsarasas endeavouring to compel the son of a Muni to return their affection, were cursed by him to

become Pisáchís, they reiterated the imprecation, and the youth was also changed to a Pisácha. They were all redeemed from their metamorphosis by bathing at Prayága, in the month of Mágha, by the advice of Lomasa Rishi. Chitrasena, king of Drávira, was a pious and benevolent monarch, but unluckily, he listened to the persuasion of Saiva ascetics, here termed Páshandas, or heretics, who maintained that no deity but Siva should be worshipped, and Vishnu in particular should be shunned, and the Rájá and his people were not only converted from the adoration of Vishnu to that of Siva, but demolished the temple of the former, and threw his images into the sea. Chitrasena, on his death, was punished by a sojourn in Tartarus, and by being then born as a Pisácha. Devadyuti, a Brahman, who had gained the especial favour of Vishnu, met with the Pisácha, and recommended him both by precept and illustration, to bathe at Prayága, in the month of Mágha, which he did, and was cleansed from his iniquities and transported to Swarga.

Vasishtha next teaches Dilípa the greatest of all the Mantras, that which was imparted to Brahmá by Vishnu, by the former to Nárada, and by Nárada to the Rishis. This consists merely of the two names, Lakshmi and Narayana, in the formula 'Om Lakshminárayanáya Namah,' but it is declared to be the mystery of mysteries, and certain means of salvation. It may be communicated to all classes, to Súdras and others, and to women, if they have faith in Vishnu. It must, however, be preceded by the ceremony of Díkshá or initiation, the essential part of which is the Tapta Mudrá, or stamping on the skin of the novice, at the part where the arms are set on to the chest, marks, with a heated iron, representing the conch and discus of Vishnu, a practice which is considered by the most respectable authorities to be a highly-reprehensible innovation.

In answer to Dilipa's inquiry in what manner Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu is best expressed, Vasishtha repeats, in the beginning of the twenty-sixth chapter, a conversation that occurred on Kailása, between Siva and Párvatí, on the same topic, in which the former describes to the latter the sixteen modes in which devotion to Vishnu is to be expressed. These are: 1, being branded with the conch and discus; 2, wearing the Urddha pundra, the perpendicular streak or streaks of white clay and red chalk on the forehead; 3, receiving the initiating Mantra with those streaks; 4, ceremonial worship; 5, silent prayer, or counting a rosary of Tulasí seeds; 6, meditation, in which the figure and symbols of Vishnu are brought to the mental vision; 7, recollecting the names of Vishnu; 8, repeating them; 9, hearing them repeated; 10, hymning Vishnu;

11, adoring his feet, or prostration before his images; 12, drinking water that has washed the feet of his images; 13, eating the remains of food offered to Vishnu; 14, unbounded service of devout Vaishnavas; 15, fasting on the twelfth lunation, and keeping it sacred; 16, wearing necklaces and chaplets of the wood or seeds of the Tulasí. In the course of Siva's explanation of these characteristic proofs of faith in Vishnu, he relates a number of tales illustrative of their efficacy, and expatiates on the sanctity of various objects and places venerated by the Vaishnava sect.

In describing the frontal marks, Siva mentions several places whence the earth should be taken, and the list is remarkable for containing the names of places in the south of India, as Venkatagiri and Srirangam. The prayer to be used is called the Eight-syllable Mantra, or 'Om Náráyanáya namah,' and he who communicates it is the Achárya, no matter what his caste. The meaning of the prayer, and particularly of the term Om, is here explained in a characteristically mystical strain, and Vishnu is next described as the source and substance of all things. An account is then given of his residence, Vaikuntha, and of his pastimes, or delusions, which are, in fact, all created beings. Vishnu, at the prayer of Mahámáyá, or Prakriti, combining with her as Purusha, or soul, and engendering creation. He then sports with Mahánidrá, or sleeps on the waters, when a lotus springs from his navel, from which Brahmá makes his appearance, and the world is created; a detailed description ensues of the fourfold Vyúha, or disposition of Vishnu's residences, Vaikuntha, Vaishnava loka, or a mythical Dwáraká, the white island, or Swetadwipa, and a palace in the sea of milk.

Siva next relates to Párvatí an account of the Vaibhavas or manifestations, Avatáras, or descents of Vishnu; of the first or Mátsya, it is said that Vishnu, in the form of a fish, entered the ocean and destroyed Hiranyáksha, who had assumed the shape of the Makara, differing therefore from the usual account of the descent of Vishnu as a fish. In the descent of the Tortoise, an account is given of the churning of the ocean, the chief peculiarity in which is the birth of Jyeshthá Deví, the elder goddess, or Alakshmí, misfortune. The production of her more amiable sister, Lakshmí, prosperity, occurred on the twelfth lunation, and thence Siva, at Párvatí's request, explains the sanctity of this and of the eleventh lunation, and the practices proper to be observed on those days. The goddess then inquires who are heretics, and the reply designates especially the followers of Siva. Párvatí asks naturally enough how this should be, as they imitate her husband; and Siva's explanation

is, that he adopted the use of the skull, skin, bones, and ashes, by desire of Vishnu, to beguile Namuchi and other Daityas, who had obtained the mastery over the gods, but lost it by the heresy into which they were seduced by teachers inspired by Siva, as Kanáda, Gautama, Saktri, Upamanyu, Jaimini, Kapila, Durvasas, Mrikándu, Vrihaspati, and Jamádagni, authors of works in which the quality of darkness predominates. Works of this character are then specified, and are the treatises on the Pásupáta worship, or worship of Siva, as Pasupati: Bauddha works: the Vaiseshika, Vedánta, and Mimánsá philosophies: the Bráhma and other Puránas, and the legal institutes of Gautama, Vrihaspati, Samudra, Yama, Sankha, and Usanas.

The Varáha and Nrisinha Avatárs, are then related, and in the latter we have the story of Prahláda, much in the same style as in the Vishnu. The Vámana, or dwarf Avatára is next described at some length, and we have then the Avatára of Parasuráma in some detail. The story of Ráma next occurs, and forms a complete epitome of the Rámáyana, and the birth, actions, and death of Krishna, agreeably to the text of the Bhágavat, are last narrated. The Avatáras of Vishnu constitute a considerable portion of the work, extending from the thirty-sixth to the seventy-second chapter.

The construction of the images of Vishnu is next described, and the places are mentioned, where the principal are erected, as Srirangam; Kasi; Jagannatha, where the image is of wood; Badarikásrama, Gangaságar, Dwáraka, Venkatádri, Vrindávan, &c. Bathing is enjoined in the Ganges, Yamuna, Saryu, and Gandakí, in upper India, and in the Kaveri, Támraparní, Godávarí, Krishná, and Narmadá, in the Dakhin; worship is to be offered daily to Lakshmi and Náráyana, and the mode of so doing is fully detailed. Párvatí then declares her intention of adoring Vishnu, for which Sadásíva commends her, and repeats to her the hundred and eight names of Ráma. The two deities then devote themselves to the adoration of Vishnu, and the dialogue concludes with the seventy-fifth chapter.

The conversation is then resumed between Dilípa and Vasishtha, and the king asks the sage how it happened that Siva attained a form so unattractive and unlike a god. In reply the Muni tells him that at a great sacrifice made by Swáyambhuva Manu, the assembled Rishis discussed which of the deities was entitled to the homage of a Brahman; some said Rudra, some Brahmá, some Súrya or the sun, and some Vishnu; but they all agreed that the only being whom they ought to revere was he who was made up of the quality of goodness;

and they employed Bhrigu to visit the deities, and put their characters to the test. Bhrigu accordingly went to Siva, but could not obtain access to him, as he was engaged with his wife; finding him, therefore, to consist of the property of darkness, Bhrigu sentenced him to the form of the Linga, and pronounced that he should have no offerings presented to him, nor receive the worship of the pious and respectable. His next visit was to Brahmá, whom he beheld surrounded by sages, and so much inflated with his own importance as to treat Bhrigu with great inattention, betraying his being made up of the quality of foulness. The Muni therefore excluded him from the worship of the Brahmans. Repairing next to Vishnu, he found the deity asleep, and, indignant at his seeming sloth, Bhrigu stamped upon his breast with his left foot and awoke him. Instead of being offended, Vishnu gently pressed the Brahman's foot, and expressed himself honoured and made happy by its contact; and Bhrigu, highly pleased by his humility, and satisfied of his being impersonated goodness, proclaimed Vishnu as the only deity to be worshipped by men or gods, in which decision the Munis, upon Bhrigu's report, concurred. This subject extends to the seventy-sixth chapter, and in some copies forms the concluding section. It is not the last of my copy, however, for Vasishtha having briefly recapitulated the subjects on which he has indoctrinated Dilípa, asks him what more he desires to hear, on which Dilípa expresses a wish to be made acquainted with the Máhátmya of the Bhagavad Gíta. Vasishtha replies by repeating another dialogue between Siva and Párvatí, in which Siva reports a conversation between Vishnu and Lakshmí, the former of whom describes to the latter the holiness of the composition of Vyása, called the Bhagavad Gíta, and exemplifies its sanctity by legends of individuals who were purified from sin, or released from future existence, by hearing or reading one or other of the sections of the Gíta, beginning with the first, and proceeding regularly in succession to the last. There is nothing worthy of note in these stories; they are all purely sectarial, according to Vaishnava notions. The scene of many is laid in the south of India, at Pratishthána, on the Godávarí; at other places on that river, at Sri Sailam, at Mahishmatí, on the Narmadá, at Haripur on the Tungabhadrá river, at Saurashtra (city, or Surat,) in the country of Gurjara, and at other cities, said to be in the Dakhin, but which are perhaps fabulous, as Amarddaka and Meghankusa; Kolapur may perhaps admit of verification. The subject extends to the ninety-third chapter.

Sadásiva then repeats to Párvatí the thousand names of Vishnu, as recited by Nárada to Bhrigu and other sages; and the reply

made by the same holy person to a number of questions put by the Rishis, the general purport of which is the transcendent merit of one who constantly recites the names of Vishnu, wears the sectarial marks, and addresses to Vishnu all his thoughts, words, and deeds. This part includes the Kriya Yoga Sára Máhátmya, or the efficacy of studying a subsequent portion of the Pádma Purána, and therefore eulogized here rather out of its place. The whole is nothing more than a reiteration of what has been repeatedly said before, though it proceeds to the end of the one hundred and first chapter.

The subject is still further prosecuted, and the merit of worshipping Vishnu, the certain expiation of all sin thereby, and the faults by which its efficacy is impaired, are communicated to Nárada by Sanatkumára, as he had been taught them by Siva. We have then two chapters on the unlawfulness of taking away life, consisting chiefly of an account given by Durgá of herself to Siva, in which she ascribes her sanguinary exploits, as the death of various Asuras, to the Máyá, or illusion of Vishnu, by which those who worship him are not to be beguiled. Siva then explains to Nárada what Bhakti or faith in Vishnu means, and what practices are incompatible with it; the various modes of worshipping Vishnu; the manner of meditating upon him, or inaudibly repeating his names; the rules of personal purification; the reverence to be shown to a Guru, or spiritual guide; the hundred and eight names of Krishna, which should be repeated every morning; the mystical marks on the soles of Krishna's feet, which should also be called to mind; the duty of morning ablution, and merit of washing with water in which a Sálagráma has been immersed. These subjects continue to the end of the one hundred and thirteenth chapter.

Dilípa then inquires of Vasishtha what are the most efficacious means of obtaining final emancipation; to which the Muni replies by relating the Máhátmya of the month Kártikeya, as it was imparted to Nárada by Brahmá. In this month, whatever gifts are made, whatever observances are practised, if they be in honour of Vishnu, are sure of attaining the end desired, and realizing an imperishable reward. Amongst the especially sacred acts of this month is the gift of lighted lamps. No particular day is enjoined in the section that treats of the Dípa dána Máhátmya, but the eleventh of the moon's wane is alluded to as especially appropriate, and the merit is great even if the lamps be lighted for the purpose of gambling at night in any place dedicated to Vishnu. The fourteenth and fifteenth lunations are also noted as holy days; but the general instruction is, "let a man offer lamps day and night in the month of Kártik."

Some legends are narrated in illustration of this general precept, as well as of the efficacy of certain days of the month; thus, the thirteenth dark lunation is specified as the day on which Yama is to be worshipped with offerings of lamps. Bathing is enjoined early in the morning of the fourteenth and fifteenth lunations, and flowers and water are to be then also presented to Yama; lamps are to be offered at night to the deities generally. On the morning of the first light lunation or new moon, bathing is to be performed; libations are to be made to gods, men, and progenitors; the monthly obsequies are to be celebrated; Brahmans entertained; a number of lamps lighted at night in houses, gardens, cow-sheds, meetings of public roads, and holy places; and families are to keep awake through the night, and pass it in diversion, especially in games of chance. As these directions were given by Vasishtha to a certain female, they suggest to Nárada to inquire by what means women become beautiful, fortunate, fruitful, and faithful. Brahmá tells him a story, in reply, of a lady called Subhará, who was all these, in consequence of duly observing the Sukha ratri, the happy night which Vishnu passes with Lakshmi, and which occurs on the fifteenth of the dark half of Kartik. The ceremonies on this occasion, consisting chiefly of the worship of Mahálakshmí, and including illuminations, are to be conducted especially by women. On the first of the moon's increase, Bali the Daitya is to be worshipped in commemoration of his gifts to Vishnu, as the dwarf, which took place on that day. Krishna is also to be worshipped as Gopála the cow-herd. On the second lunation, which is thence called Yama dwitíya, Yama is to be adored by those who wish to know not death; and on the eleventh the waking of Vishnu from his periodical slumbers is to be celebrated.

The account of these sacred days in the month of Kartik extends to the one hundred and twenty-sixth chapter.

The Kártika Mahátmya, however, is still considered to be the appropriate title of this portion of the Purána, although most of the chapters treat of topics not exclusively relating to that month. They describe the objects of Vaishnava ceremonies and observances, which are equally sacred at other seasons, as the Dhátrí flower, the Sálagram stone, the various kinds of Sálagrámas, the conch shell, the Tulasí plant, various perfumes, as sandal, agallochum, and different fragrant flowers, all which are peculiarly dedicated to Vishnu, and are to be worshipped or offered in worship on occasions and in modes which are particularized. A description is then given of the Bhíshma panchaka, or five days from the beginning of the eleventh

to the end of the fifteenth lunation of the month of Kartik, dedicated to the worship of Bhíshma; and this properly closes the subject of the holiness of Kártik, or the Kártika Mahátmya, with the one hundred and thirty-second chapter.

In reply, however, to a question of the Rishis, Súta relates to them the communication of the legend of Kártika by Nárada, to the wives of Krishna at Dwáraká, and a conversation that ensued between Krishna and Satyabhámá, in which the divinity gives his wife an account of her former existence as the daughter of a Brahman, and her having been exalted to her present dignity in consequence of observing the ceremonies proper to the eleventh lunation of the month of Kartik. Satyabhámá asks how this month obtained its peculiar sanctity; in reply to which, Krishna relates to her the story of the Asura Sankha having stolen the Vedas, and Vishnu's becoming a fish, in order to plunge into the sea and recover them. In this version of the Mátsya Avatára, we have the sage Kasyapa substituted for Satyavrata, and he throws the fish, when it is too large for the pond, into the sea: we have nothing further of a boat or a deluge—the fish kills Sankha, and brings the Vedas back to the gods. This happened in the month of Kartika, and on the eleventh day, whence bathing in that month and on that day is commemorative of this Avatára. Bathing at Prayága and Badarikásrama are peculiarly enjoined; and then Nárada, who has been the narrator of the previous story, which Krishna has only repeated, describes to Prithu the mode of observing the ceremonies, or the fasting, bathing, giving presents, waking, and worshipping, which should be practised in this month. These topics proceed to the one hundred and fortieth chapter. Prithu then asks Nárada to explain to him how the Tulasí plant became sacred to Vishnu. Nárada, in illustration, tells him a long legend of the birth, exploits, and death of Jalandhara, a person of whom no mention occurs in any other Purána, but whose story has been translated into English by Col. Vans Kennedy. The translation frequently varies from the text of the copy I have consulted, but the variations are not material to the narrative, and it is sufficient to refer to the translation for the details of the story—a story which, whether as it occurs in this place, or in the beginning of the work, appears extremely incongruous with its general tenour, and little, if at all, connected with what precedes or follows it: it occupies nine chapters: at the close it appears that Vishnu was fascinated with the beauty of Vrindá, the wife of Jalandhara; to redeem him from which enthralment the gods applied to Lakshmi, Gauri, and Swadhá; each gave them seeds to sow where Vishnu was enchanted. Those given by

Lakshmi came up as the Dhátri, Málatí, and Tulasí plants, and appearing in female forms they attracted Vishnu's admiration, and diverted his affections from Vrindá; hence the estimation in which they are to be held by all devout Vaishnavas. Nárada then relates to Prithu a series of stories still in illustration of the merit of acts of devotion in the month Kartik, in which again we have indications of the locality of the origin of this composition in the choice of sacred places in the Dakhin for the scenes of the wondrous events narrated; as the Sahya mountain; Saurashtra; the confluence of the Krishná and Vení rivers; Kánchí; the capital of a prince called Chola, king of Chola, the brother of Anantasayana. The account winds up with a legend of the origin of the Krishná, Vení, and Kakudmini rivers, which were formed of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahmá, whilst the numerous streams of the Sahya mountain proceeded from portions of their several goddesses.

Krishna and Satyabhámá appear again in the one hundred and fifty-seventh chapter, as interlocutors, and the former expatiates to the latter on the three vratas or observances which he most prizes—those of the months Kártik and Mágha, and of the Ekádasí or eleventh lunation, throughout the year. He then explains to her the manner in which the character of an individual is affected by that of those with whom he associates, and the possibility of interchanging vices and virtues, or of transferring to others the consequences of one's own acts, a doctrine frequently advanced and illustrated in this work. He exemplifies the theory by the narrative of Dhaneswara, a Brahman of low occupation, who goes to Máhíshmati, in the month Kartik, to sell skins, and his business leading daily to the banks of the Narmadá, he is thrown into the company of numerous Vaishnavas—hears them constantly recite the name of Vishnu—sees them bathing and offering worship—and joins them, more out of curiosity than devotion, in their rites. Upon his death, and condemnation to Tartarus, it is found that the punishments of hell have no effect upon him, and upon inquiry into the cause, Yama learns his accidental observance of the month of Kártik: he is accordingly dismissed from the lower regions, and becomes one of the inferior divinities called Yakshas. Krishna and Satyabhámá then go to perform the evening Sandhyá, and Súta and the Rishis resume their dialogue in chapter one hundred and sixty.

Súta now explains how the Kártika-vrata is to be observed by sick persons, or those who dwell in mountains and forests, which is illustrated by a legend of the metamorphosis of portions of Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma, to trees, or severally to the Aswattha (Ficus religiosa),

Vata (F. Indica), and Palása (Butea frondosa), by the curse of Párvatí. Another legend of Daridrá, or Poverty, left by Uddálaka, a Muni, to whom she had been espoused under an Aswattha tree, explains why that tree is to be touched only on a Sunday, for on every other day Poverty or Misfortune abides in it: on Sunday it is the residence of Lakshmi. This concludes the Kártika Máhátmya with chapter one hundred and sixty-one.

The next subject is the history of Rádhá, the favourite mistress of Krishna, who is said to be Mahálakshmí, born as the daughter of the Rája Vrishabhánu and Srikírttidá; she was born on the eighth of the moon's increase in the month Bhádra, and the work therefore describes the Bhádráshtamí vrata, or the ceremonies to be observed on Rádhá's birth-day, with the prayers and worship to be addressed to her and to Krishna, including the catalogue of her hundred and eight appellations: similar injunctions are then given for the observance of Krishna's birth-day on the eighth day of the dark half of the same month, and the three circumstances by which it is modified, as the simple Ashtamí, Rohiní, and Jayantí, or the concurrence of the asterism Rohiní with the eighth lunation and the moon's entering the constellation at midnight, are described. The holiness of the forest of Vrindávan, the favourite haunt of Krishna and Rádhá, is the next topic, and we have then the one hundred and eight names of Annapúrná, a form of Lakshmí. Súta then communicates to the Rishis the sanctity of another month of bathing, fasting, and worshipping Vishnu, proper to be observed in Vaisákha, illustrating it by Vaishnava tales, showing how various persons were purified from their sins by the efficacy of acts performed in Vaisakh. The Vaisákha Mahátmya ends with the one hundred and seventy-second chapter. The next chapter contains the Anukrama or index, and the one hundred and seventy-fourth or last chapter consists of a panegyric upon the Uttara Khanda of the Pádma Purána.

The Kriyá Yoga Sára is always considered as a sort of supplement to the Pádma Purána, or as a portion of the Uttara Khanda of that Purána. It is divided into twenty-five chapters, and contains about 4000 stanzas. It commences with Súta's visit to Naimisháranya, where Saunaka, on behalf of the Rishis, asks him to inform them how, in an age so degenerate as the Kalí, religious merit may be attained, mankind being now incapable of those arduous acts of devotion which were commonly practised in more auspicious ages. Súta replies by reciting a dialogue between Vyása and Jaimini, in which Vyása, to satisfy the similar inquiries of his disciple, repeated to him the Kriyá Yoga Sára Purána, or

Purána explanatory of practical devotion in opposition to the Dhyána Yoga, or devotion of contemplation.

Practical devotion is, according to this authority, the adoration of Vishnu. It was exercised before the creation, by Brahmá, upon Vishnu's destroying the demons Madhu and Kartabha, and the notice of this circumstance is accompanied by a brief description of the origin of the world, and the birth and destruction of the two demons.

The first act of devotion enjoined, is bathing in the Ganges, or celebrating the virtues of the sacred stream, especially at three places—Haridwára, Prayága, and Gungaságara. The holiness of the river is chiefly explained by insipid and extravagant legends, of Swarga, Vaikuntha, and even final liberation, being the reward of different persons, several of whom were most abandoned sinners, who were sprinkled, on their deaths, with Ganges water—who were drowned in the river—or whose bones were cast into it. These stories extend from the third to the end of the eighth section.

A series of precepts and illustrations occupies the next five chapters on the worship of Vishnu in each month of the year, describing how it is to be performed, and what recompense rewards it. The next chapters explain the merits of the simple repetition of the words Hari, Ráma, Krishna, and other names of Vishnu; the efficacy of Bhakti, or faith in Vishnu; the holiness of Purushottama Kshetra, and Jagannatha; the virtue of liberality, and excellence of various kinds of gifts, with the reward that awaits donations to Vaishnavas and to Vishnu; the reverence due to Brahmans; the sanctity of the Ekádasi, or eleventh lunation. In the story of Kotiratha and his queen Suprajná, who faithfully observed the Ekádasi, a description of hell, and the punishments inflicted on the damned, is given. The virtues of the Tulasí and Dhátrí plants, and merit of planting, and cherishing them, and wearing rosaries and necklaces made of their wood, are the theme of the twenty-third chapter. The next chapter details the duties of hospitality, and the work closes with an account of the decline of virtue in the different ages, and the depravity of mankind in the Kalí Yuga. That period has, however, its advantages, for the recompense of years of devotion in the preceding ages is realized by a single repetition of the name of Hari.

There can be little doubt that the two last portions of the Pádma Purána have not much in common, beyond their sectarial tendency, with those by which they are preceded, and it may be questioned if there is any very close connexion even between the four first Khandas,

and whether they can be regarded as constituting one continuous work: at any rate it is clear, that neither individually nor collectively do they correspond with the description of a Purána, or embody a representation that can be regarded as ancient or authentic of Hindu tradition and mythology. They are all evidently the compositions of a particular sect, and for a particular purpose—authorities compiled by the Vaishnavas for the promulgation of the worship of Vishnu.

The Srishti Khanda, or first portion of the work, is the most free from a sectarial character, and conforms best to that of a Purána. The earlier and later chapters, indeed, treating of the creation, regal genealogies, and legends which appear to be ancient, mostly employ language used in several of the Puránas, the original property in which it is difficult to assign to any one of them, and perhaps of right belongs to none, having been borrowed from some common source. In the case of the Pádma Purána, however, it is strongly to be suspected that the compiler had before him especially the Vuyá, Vishnu, and Bhágavata Puránas.

A very considerable portion of the Srishti Khanda is, however, as far as can be ascertained, original, although it be not Pauranik, for it constitutes the Paushkara Máhátmyam, or the golden legend of the lake of Pushkara or Pokhar in Ajmer, where alone Brahmá is worshipped; and it is a peculiarity of this part of the work, that its sectarianism is the worship of Brahmá rather than of Vishnu. There are some curious legends, as has been observed, of apparent struggles for supremacy between the followers of Brahmá and Siva, in which, though the latter triumphs, yet it is at the expense of some humiliation.

The advocacy of the adoration of Brahmá, growing out of the legendary sanctity of a place dedicated to that divinity, is a probable clue to the history of the composition, and gives reason to suppose that this part of the Pádma Purána owes its origin to the temples at Pokhar, legends intended to enhance the merit of acts of devotion at that shrine having been blended not very congruously with others taken from different sources, and embellished according to the taste of the compilers: when this is likely to have been accomplished is a matter of some uncertainty. Pokhar is still a place of pilgrimage, and a shrine of Brahmá, but it was probably not much resorted to during the Mohammedan supremacy in the vicinity of Ajmer, and the worship of Brahmá has not been popular for some centuries at least. On the other hand, if narratives, legends, and genealogies have been borrowed literally from other Puránas, including the

Vishnu, as appears probable, we cannot go very far back for its composition.

There are also various descriptions and allusions, from which a comparatively modern origin may be inferred. Ráma is said to have recognised Siva as the guardian of the bridge between Lanká and the peninsula, giving him the name of Rámeswara, and the temple at that place, which still exists, must therefore have been built when the legend was written. Amongst the wives or favourites of Vishnu, Rádhá is named, and her deification there is reason to believe modern. The Brahmans who live to the south of the Vindhya mountains are declared unfit to be invited to a Srâddha, or obsequial feast, an exclusion implying a difference of faith or practice, which is not to be traced in older authorities, and which was probably levelled especially at the Saiva and Vaishnava sects of the peninsula. The followers of Siva, who are characterized by carrying a skull, are possibly not of high antiquity; and the specification of the Jain heterodoxy, with the description of a class of their priests carrying a bunch of peacocks' feathers, are indications of no remote date. We have also frequent mention of Mlechchas, or barbarians, and Sávitrí pronounces, in the seventeenth chapter, an imprecation upon Lakshmí, the goddess of propriety, that she shall take up her abode with them—this looks like an allusion to the presence and predominant authority of the Mohammedans when the passage was written, and there seems reason to believe that this portion of the Purána was compiled at some period between the establishment of the Mohammedan kingdom of Delhi in the thirteenth and the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The Bhúmi Khanda bears even less of the character of a Purána than the preceding, containing very few of those details which belong to the ancient mythological system, and being still more extensively made up of sectarial legends. Its sectarianism is Vaishnava, and is more decided than that of the Srishtí Khanda. It is less controversial and exclusive, however, and Siva is more civilly treated, and admitted to share with Vishnu the adoration of mankind.

Brahmá is scarcely noticed at all, and then only to be identified with Vishnu.

The character of the stories which constitute the greater portion of this work, and the additions made to those narratives which are borrowed from older compositions, sufficiently evidence the absence of antiquity. We have also repeated the specification of Jain doctrines, and may therefore infer that these enjoyed some degree

of popularity at the time when they were thus assailed. The locality of the Bhúmi Khand is different from that of the Srishti, and instead of Pushkara, the places to which the greatest sanctity is attributed, are situated along the Narmadá, and in central and western India. Amongst these, Mahákála is specified, which may possibly be the shrine of Siva, at Ujayin, that was demolished by Sultan Altmish, in 1231. A shrine of Durgá, under the name of Kámákhya, which lies in Asam, is also mentioned, and it may be doubted if that or several of the other Tirthas specified, were in possession of celebrity at any remote era. The date of the Bhúmi Khand then probably differs little from that of the preceding portion: it does not seem, however, to be necessarily connected with it, but to have been the work of different hands in a different part of India, and under circumstances somewhat dissimilar. It may be doubted also if it is the Bhúmi Khanda alluded to in the first chapter of the Srishti, for although it does contain a description of the earth and of sundry Tírthas, yet, as will have been seen by the abstract of its contents, they occupy but a small part of that of which, according to the specification referred to, they ought to have constituted the substance.

The opening of the Swarga Khanda with the precise story of the drama of Sakuntalá, shows that it is posterior to the play. The travels of Bharata appear also to be borrowed from other and probably still later originals, and their boundary, Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, placed above all the other Lokas, is a later and sectarial addition to the genuine Pauranic system. The narratives that follow do belong to the old legendary stock, but the long conversation between Mándhátri and Nárada, which forms the connecting thread of the latter half of the Swarga Khanda, is an original embellishment. The Vaishnava observances, the worship of the Sálagráma stone, the use of frontal marks, the holiness of the eleventh lunation, are not only sectarial but as far as has yet been ascertained, are modern, having been adopted by some of the Vaishnava sects, which sprung up after the appearance of Rámánuja in the middle of the twelfth century. We have no reason therefore to assign to this part of the Pádma Purána, a higher antiquity than to the former, and it seems to be connected with the Bhúmi Khanda in order and in subject. It corresponds also well enough with the brief description given of it in the first chapter of the Srishti Khanda.

The Pátála Khanda is little else than a history of Ráma, and of his house, the details of which are, to a great extent, taken from the

Raghu Vansa, and as already observed, in the very same words. The Purána is therefore more modern than the poem. The plan of the adventures of the horse turned loose for Ráma's Aswamedha, which constitute a large portion of the Pátála Khanda appears to be original, as are most of the stories, although some of them are only embellished versions of legends to be met with elsewhere. Some of the places noticed, afford a limit to the antiquity of the work. Kámákhya, as has been stated, is probably no very ancient shrine, and certainly, Jagannáth has no pretensions to high antiquity. We have also the Sálagráma, the sectarial marks, and the Tulasi plant, made the subjects of repeated panegyric, and the use of these is characteristic of modern Vaishnava sects. The Bhágavata Purána is also named and distinctly particularized, and the Pátála Khanda of the Pádma is therefore more modern than the Bhágavata. Except the ancestors of Ráma, there are no genealogies in this Khanda, and its congruity with the description in the Srishthi Khanda, is therefore rather questionable.

The Khandas of the Pádma Purána, thus far, are Vaishnava works. The first Khanda, it is true, almost drops that character in the importance attached to Pushkara and the worship of Brahmá, but the three next are obviously written to assert the supremacy of Vishnu. There is a tolerable conformity amongst the three in the tone in which this is enforced, and they also agree in the choice of Ráma rather than of Krishna, for the form of Vishnu that is selected as the subject of their panegyric. It seems likely, therefore, that they are nearly cotemporary productions, and that they originated with the followers of Rámánuja, or Madhwácharya, Vaishnava teachers, in the South of India, in the twelfth century.

The moderation that pervades the injunctions of the preceding portions, is no longer observed by the Uttara Khanda, and the worship of any divinity, except Vishnu, and of Siva especially, is positively prohibited. It possesses equally little of the character of a Purána, and is a violent sectarial work made up for the most part of legends, invented to inculcate the exclusive worship of Vishnu, the use of distinguishing Vaishnava marks, and the sanctity of particular seasons when Vishnu should especially be propitiated. The latter subjects in the legends, or Máhátmyas of the months Mágha and Kártik, constitute the bulk of the compilation.

The main purport and evident locality of this section, sufficiently illustrate the probable period of its composition within certain limits, and show that it was written when a struggle took place between the Saivas and Vaishnavas of the Peninsula, for superiority.

One legend, indeed, relates to a king of Drávira, who, listening to the doctrines of heretics (Saivas), destroyed the temples of Vishnu, and threw his images into the sea. The time at which these contests took place, appears to have been about the eleventh and twelfth centuries (*Mackenzie Collection*, Introduction, lxii.)

Amongst the practices especially enjoined is the Tapta Mudra, stamping the names of Vishnu on the skin with a hot iron, a practice not warranted by ancient texts, and introduced into the Dakhin apparently some eight or nine centuries ago. (*As. Res.* xvi. 12.)

The principal places at which worship is addressed to Vishnu, include Srirangam and Venkatádri, or Tripeti. The traditions of the latter acknowledge that it was a Saiva shrine in the time of Rámánuja, who recovered it for the Vaishnavas, and, consequently, the Uttara Khanda is posterior to that event and to the twelfth century.

The scenes of many of the legends illustrating the merit of worshipping Vishnu, are laid in the South, and amongst them we have Haripur on the Tungabhadrá. In the translated index, this is called Hariharapur, and whichever reading be correct, it appears probable, from its situation on the Tumbhadra, that the capital of Vijayanagara is intended, the city of Bukka and Harihara Rayas, which was founded in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

These, as well as the general character of the work and its dwelling upon the sanctity of the Sálagráma stone, Tulasi plant, and other particulars, afford proof sufficiently credible, that it is not entitled to be considered as the composition of a remote period. The fifteenth century will not, in all probability, be very far from the highest antiquity to which it can lay claim.

The Kriyá Yogá Sára seems to have been suggested by the chapters of the Uttara Khanda, which treat of practical devotion according to Vaishnava tenets. In that case, it is posterior to it, and there is nothing in it inconsistent with a more modern date. Its tone is more moderate, however, and from its dilating more especially upon the holiness of the Ganges, and of Jagannátha Kshetra, and not alluding to other holy places, it differs in the locality of its origin from the other Khandas, and is most probably the work of a Brahman of Orissa, or Bengal. The work does not appear to be known in the South of India.

DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE OCCURRENCES IN BENGAL,

IN THE TIME OF THE

NAWÁBS MÍR JAFFIER AND KÁSIM ALÍ KHÁN.

COMMUNICATED BY

PROFESSOR WILSON,

DIRECTOR.

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON,
LONDON GAZETTE OFFICE, ST. MARTIN'S LANE;
AND
ORCHARD STREET, WESTMINSTER.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO

OCCURRENCES IN BENGAL.

A SHORT time ago, I purchased for the Library of the East India Company, a few MSS. which had apparently been written or collected by a gentleman named R. E. Roberts, who in 1784-5 held the office of Persian Interpreter either to the Governor of Bengal or the Commander of the Forces. I have not been able to learn anything further of him, except that, as might be inferred, he was an officer in the Bengal Army, and was personally known, late in life, to some of our members. There is an Indian Glossary or *Vade-Mecum*, compiled by a Lieutenant Roberts, of the 3rd Regiment N. I.; but it was printed in 1800, and his designation is T. T. Roberts; he must be, therefore, a different person. The papers of R. E. Roberts indicate extensive acquirements, and comprise a very good Persian grammar and a translation of a Hindustani grammar, compiled in Latin by a missionary named Schultz, and printed at Halle by Professor Cullenburg in 1745.

There are also various Persian documents, very carefully written, some of which serve to elucidate historical events of an early date, especially those arising out of the political relations that were first established with Mír Jaffier and his successor, Kásim Alí Khán; and although they do not add materially to our knowledge of the transactions of that period, they possess some interest as being original and authentic: they are also, to some extent, new; and I have thought, therefore, that extracts from them might be acceptable to the Society.

The earliest of these documents are of the time of *Mír Jaffier*, and relate to the incursion of *Sháh Alam;* the later are various letters from *Kásim Alí Khán* to Mr. Vansittart and the Council of Calcutta. Some of these are translated in Vansittart's Memoirs, but not all; and as those which are now met with confirm the authenticity of those which are there given, I have thought that some of them might be again translated and published. Not having leisure myself to attempt the translation of these papers, Mr. Shakespear has been kind enough, at my request, to accomplish the task for the information of the Society.

The first documents that I have to notice relate to a transaction

which excited, when it became known in England, a lively sensation, and was made the subject of parliamentary investigation. It concerned the share taken by Colonel Caillaud in an atrocious project, devised by the Nawáb or by his son, for the assassination of the Sháh Záda; to an agreement to which effect Colonel Caillaud acknowledged he allowed his seal to be affixed. The inquiry that took place, with his vindication of his conduct, is one of the subjects of the first report of the Committee of the House of Commons printed in 1772; but as that report gives only Colonel Caillaud's statements, and does not present any documentary evidence, the following copy of the agreement, with the particulars, as furnished by a celebrated individual of that time (Rájá Shitáb Rái) to Mr. Hastings, may be thought worthy of preserving.

نقل فرد بمهر نواب شجاع الملك بهادر و بمهر نواب ناصر الملك
بهادر و مبارز الدوله سيف جنك بهادر انكه
تهور دستكاه كهاندي راي بعافيت باشند

حقيقت حسن ارادت و رسوخ اعتقا كه نظر بقديم الخدمتي خود دارند از خطي كه براجه چهكن سنكه نوشته بودند مفصل معلوم شد اينجانب‌هارا نيز مراعات‌ها منظور است انشاء الله تعلي بعمل خواهد امد با الفعل هر قدر كه بظهور حسن مجرا ساعي خواهند شد انسب و اولا ست و بايمان و طريقهء خود قسم كه اكر شاهزادهرا بر طبق نوشته خود دستكيركرده حضور بيارند يا قتيل سازند يك لك روپيه انعام بلا توقف بان تهور دستكاه خواهد رسيد و انچه لازمهء غور و پرداخت است بعمل خواهد امد خاطر جمعدارند

بتارخ شهر شعبان سنه احد قلمي شد

مكرر انكه بعد سرانجام اين كار زميندارى كامكار خان بان تهور دستكاه مقرر نموده خواهد شد

"Copy of an Agreement, under the seals of the Nawáb Shujá ul Mulk (Mír Jaffier), of the Nawáb Násir ul Mulk (Míran, his eldest son), and of Mubáriz ud daulah Saif Jang (Colonel Caillaud).

"To Khándí Rái, greeting.

"We have received the assurances of fidelity and attachment, which might be expected from your long services, in your letter to Rajah Chihkan Sing. Your expectations from us are also noticed, and, by the blessings of God, will be accomplished. In a word, your merits will be estimated by your exertions and services, and we swear by our faith that if, according to what you have written, you make the Sháh-záda prisoner, and bring him to us, or kill him, you will receive one lakh of rupees in full, besides having that consideration paid to you which will be due. Be of good cheer.

"Written in the month of Shábán, in the first year [of the reign of Sháh Alam].

"P.S.—After the execution of this business, you have the Zamíndárí of Kámgár Khan granted to you in perpetuity."

خط مهاراجه شتاب راي به جلادت جنك مستر هشتن

صاحب بسيار مهربان كرم فرماي مخلصان سلامت

بعد تمناي ادراك سامي مواصلت موفور المسرت كه مزيدي بر ان متصور نباشد مكشوف راي مهرباني افزاي كردانيده مي شود مهرباني نامه سامي متضمن بر اينكه از طرف نواب شمس الدوله بهادر و كوسليان كلكته باينجانب حكم رسيده كه نواب مير محمد جعفر خان بهادر و سادق عليخان مرحوم و كرنيل كليو خطوطيكه بنابر دستگير كردن بادشاه زاده نوشته بودند بدست صاحب افتاده لهذا باينجانب حكم شده كه در ينمقدمه بانصاحب نوشته استدراك نمايد اكر خطوط مذكور پيش صاحب بوده باشد البته مخلص نويسند

وصول الطاف شمول نموده نشاط افزاي خاطر دوستدار گرديد
چون قبل وصول مهرباني نامه مستر ولپم ايلس هم در
ينمقدمه بمخلص نوشته بودند در جواب مستر موسوف
نوشتم و بصاحب مفصل اطلاع ميدهم احوال نوشتخواند
حضور اين است كه در عظيم‌اباد نشده بود و دربن نوشت
خواند دوستدار در ميان هم نبود هر گاه بادشاه ظل الله حضرت
شاه عالم بهادر بطرف مرشداباد و چكله بردوان تشريف برده
بودند در انجا راجه چهكن سنكه هركاره سركار نواب مير محمد
جعفر خان بهادر مهابت جنك با لاله كهاندي راي كه دران
ايام مختار نواب عقيدت الدوله بهادر يعني محمد كامكار
خان مي و مختار سوال جواب حضور پرنور حضرت بادشاه
بودند قول و قرار نموده بودند كه در صورت كشتن يا بقابوي
اينجانب در اورده دادن حضرت شاه عالم بهادر يك لك
روپه نقد و زميندارى ملك محمد كامكار خان بشما داده
خواهد شد چنانچه نوشت خواند اينمقدمه بمهر نواب مير
محمد جعفر خان بهادر و نواب صادق عليخان مرحوم
و نواب مبارز الملك سيف جنك بهادر يعني كرنيل كليو شده
هركاه حضرت شاه عالم بهادر از مرشدآباد معاودت
بعظيم‌آباد نمودند چون اكثري آشنايان دوستدار هم درانجا بودند
خبر نوشت و خواند مذكور بدوستدار رسانيدند از انجا كه
مخلص‌را خير انديشي و نيكنامي كمپني انكريز از قديم منظور
است اينمعني‌را بمستر اميت صاحب كه در انوقت صاحب
كلان كوتهي عظيم‌اباد بودند ظاهر نمودم مستر صاحب

موصوف بدوستدار گفتند که این فردرا بهر صورت از
انجا باید طلبید چون او همراه حضرت شاه عالم بهادر بود
در انجا چیزی زور نمیرسید اما از انجا که دوستداررا خیر اندیشی
و نیکنامی کمپنی انگریز از قدیم منظور بود بحکمت عملی و قول
و قرار اینکه شما فردرا بمن بدهید زر شما وصول کرده خواهم
داد یا فرد واپس خواهم داد و فرد مذکوررا طلبیده بمستر
صاحب موصوف ملاحظه کنانیدم مستر صاحب بدوستدار
گفتند که فردرا در قابوی خود باید داشت چون چند روز
داشتم بعد ان فرد شخصی که بود او خود طلب زر نمود
با و واپس دادم نقلش که در کاغذ احقر بود ملفوف رقیمه
الوفاق فرستادم هرگاه گهاندی رای بقضای الهی فوت
شد امّا فرد اصل هر سه مهری پیش شخصی که هست
او خود در اتاوه است و از من آشنائی دارد اینکه فرد از
و خواسته باشم مفت نمیتواند داد زر خواهد ساخت در
ینصورت اگر واپس گرفتن فرد منظور باشد انچنان بدوستدار
باید نوشت که بتدبیر ان پردازم و اگر دریافت احوال
متصور بود چون هر قدر که معلوم مخلص بود مفصل گذارش
نمود زیاده ایام بهجت و شادمانی مدام باد

"Letter from Mahárája Shitáb Rái to Jaládat Jang, Mr. Hastings, the kind benefactor of his friends—Salám.

"After the assurance of my earnest desire for a happy meeting, a greater gratification than which cannot be imagined, the acknowledgment of your most kind communication is made, the purport of which friendly dispatch is to this effect, that, on the part of the Nawáb Shams-ad-daulah [Vansittart] and the members of the Council of Calcutta, you instruct me that a certain paper which the Nawáb

Mír Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, the late Sádik Alí Khán, and Colonel Caillaud had written, respecting the seizure of the Bádsháh-Záda, had fallen into the hands of the Sáhib, on which account you command me to write to him, to make inquiry, and, if in his possession, to send it to your servant. The arrival of this dispatch has afforded exceeding satisfaction to your friend.

"Before the receipt of your obliging letter, however, Mr. William Ellis had written to me on the same subject, and I had written to him in reply, giving him all the particulars, which were the following; although, as I was not at Azímábád (Patna) at the time, I had no concern in the correspondence.

"At the time that the Emperor His Majesty Sháh Alam Bahádur, proceeded towards Murshidábád, and had arrived in the Chakla of Burdwan, Raja Chihkan Sing, the Harkára of the government of Mír Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, Mohábat Jang, intrigued with Lála Khándi Rái, who at that time was the Mukhtár of Nawáb Akídat Allah, that is to say, of Mohammed Kámgár Khán, and was also the private secretary of His illustrious Majesty, and promised and agreed that if he would effect the death or the seizure and delivery of Sháh Alam to the parties, he should receive a present of a lakh of rupees and the Zamíndárí of Kámgár Khán, conformably to which a written engagement was authenticated by the seals of Mir Mohammed Jaffier Khán Bahádur, the late Nawáb Sádik Alí Khán, and the Nawáb Mubáriz ul Mulk Saif Jang Bahádur, that is, Colonel Caillaud. When His Majesty returned from Murshidábád to Azímábád, as there were then many of my friends and acquaintances at that place, intelligence of this correspondence was communicated to me; and as it has always been my desire to secure the favourable opinion of the English Company, I made the affair known to Mr. Amyatt, who was at that time chief of the factory at Patna. The aforesaid gentleman said to me, 'It is necessary by all means to get that paper from the party.' As he was in attendance upon His Majesty, there was no opportunity of compelling him to give it up; but in my earnest desire to obtain the good will of the Company, I set to work with all the ingenuity I could exert, and promised that if he would give up the paper, he should receive a pecuniary consideration, or the document should be returned. Accordingly, the document was intrusted to me, and I showed it to Mr. Amyatt, who said, 'You must keep the document in your possession.' I did so for some days, when the person to whom it belonged becoming importunate for money, I restored him the paper. A copy of it I send inclosed in this letter. Although Khándi Rái is, by the divine decree, deceased, yet the

original document with the three seals is in the possession of a person residing in Etáwa, and who is a friend of mine. I might ask him for it, but he would not part with it without an equivalent, as he wants to make money by it. If, therefore, it be any object to have the paper again, you will be so good as to write to your friend, that I may manage the business; but if a knowledge of the circumstances were all that was contemplated, I have stated them in full so far as they were known to me. What more is necessary? May your days of happiness and rejoicing be perpetual."

That such a project should have been entertained is not inconsistent with the character either of Mír Jaffier or of his son Míran, especially of the latter, who, according to the author of the Sair Mutakherin, was capable of any atrocity. There might have been some plausible pretext for the attempt to secure the person of Sháh Alam at an earlier period, or that of his first incursion, in the beginning of 1759; for at that date, his father, Alamgír II., acting under the dictation of his Vizír, Ghází-ud-dín, had commanded Mír Jaffier to march to Patna, and secure the person of the Prince; for, according to the imperial firmán, "some ill-designing people had turned his brain, and carried him to the eastern part of the empire, which would be the cause of much trouble and ruin to the country." Ghází-ud-dín and his brother, Ahmed Khán, wrote to Colonel Clive to the same effect; for they were alarmed at the Prince's escape from their grasp, and apprehended his raising a party which might be strong enough to overturn their power. There never was any disposition in Clive, however, to act severely against the Prince, and although he declined to make common cause with him, and imperatively insisted on his withdrawing from Bahar, he commiserated his misfortunes, wrote to him kindly and civilly, and even sent him a present of five hundred gold mohurs to relieve his distresses, and enable him to get out of the country. He, therefore, could have been no party to a proposition to secure the Prince alive or dead.

There can be no doubt, indeed, that the temptation held out to Khándi Rái to betray his master was made at a subsequent period. After the Prince's retreat across the Karamnasa, he was not for some time in a condition to resume his attempts upon Bahar, as he had lost the aid of his principal supporter in his first attempt, Mohammed Kuli Khán, the independent Governor of Allahábád, who was the chief instigator of the enterprise, and had joined him with all his forces; thus affording an opportunity to his treacherous kinsman, Shuja-ad-daula, the

Nawáb of Oude, who had encouraged him to assist the Prince, to seize upon the fortress of Allahábád, and deprive Mohammed Kuli Khán of his possessions. After the expiration of about a twelvemonth, the Prince resumed his attempt, chiefly upon invitation of Kámgár Khán, Zamíndár of Tikari, and of other Zamíndárs, and again advanced to Patna, where he at first met with some success, defeating Rámnaráyan, and destroying a small party of English sipáhis, with their commander, Captain Cochrane. Before he could take advantage of his victory, the army of the Nawáb, under the command of Míran and Major Caillaud, arrived, and another action took place, in which the Prince was defeated. He was now, however, Emperor, his father having been murdered, and he had assumed the title, by which he was subsequently known, of Sháh Alam. His General was not discouraged by the results of the engagement, but adopted the spirited resolution of avoiding the Nawáb's army, and, by a rapid circuitous march, falling upon Murshidábád. The army of Sháh Alam had reached the district of Burdwan in this march, when Caillaud, by great exertions, threw himself between the Emperor and the capital of Bengal. Sháh Alam thought it prudent to decline a battle, and fell back rapidly on Patna, which he once more assailed, and was very nigh taking it, when it was saved by the opportune arrival of Captain Knox and his party, detached by Caillaud. It was after his repulse from Burdwan and during his march against Patna, that the inducement to betray him was offered to Khándi Rái; for Mír Jaffier and his son had both been excessively alarmed by his approach, and were still in dread of the result of his movements, and although they seem to affect avoiding to give him his title of emperor, yet, with rather unaccountable inconsistency, the agreement is dated in the year one, which could apply only to the first of his reign, in the month Shábán, sufficiently corresponding with that of April, 1760, when we know, from Caillaud's own statement, the agreement was executed as to the means of getting rid of the object of their fears. It was not long after this that Míran was killed, upon the expedition with Caillaud against Kadím Hosain Khán, the Zamindár of Purnia, who had brought a considerable force into the field in aid of Sháh Alam, the timely junction of which would have probably insured the taking of Patna. With the usual dilatoriness and want of concert which has so repeatedly proved fatal to the princes of Hindustan, he did not reach Hajipur till Patna was safe, and he was defeated by Knox, who had effected its security. He was then pursued and driven from his country by Caillaud. Sháh Alam soon after made his peace with the English, and Mír Jaffier ceased to be the Nawáb of Bengal.

That Major Caillaud was the officer associated with Míran in the movements against Sháh Alam is a historical fact beyond question, and yet the author of the Sair Mutakherin, Gholám Hosain, well informed as he was of the transactions of the period in which he bore a part himself, invariably speaks of Clive as commanding, not only in the first but in the second campaign against Sháh Alam. In the first passage the expression is doubtful: "News coming to the Emperor that the Bengal army was on its march, with the Colonel and the English at its head, they raised their camp, and marched forward to meet the enemy" (p. 104). Who "the Colonel" was appears afterwards more positively:—"A few days after this victory, intelligence came that Míran, with the forces of Bengal, commanded by Colonel Clive, now styled Saif Jang, was hastening to Azímabad" (p. 124). Clive is therefore the Colonel first intended; and yet this we know to be wrong; and Clive's native title never was Saif-jang, but Sáhib-jang; whilst, as appears from the correspondence, the former was the title of Caillaud. There is one explanation of this blunder which probably accounts for its origin, although, from further evidence, we can scarcely acquit Gholám Hosain of error, otherwise we might look upon it as a mistake, not of his, but of his translator; for however unlike the two words Clive and Caillaud may be in English letters, there is no doubt they are expressed by the very same characters in Persian (کلیو), which may be read according to the vowel-marks (which are not inserted), Kalio, or Klio, or Kliv. It is highly probable that Gholám Hosain was deceived by the mode of writing the name, for that all along he understood it to be Kliv is rendered indisputable by the following:—"Whether this death [of Míran] made any alteration in Colonel Clive's notions we cannot affirm; but this much is certain, that this renowned commander, who so long as he remained in India had been always acknowledged as supreme commander of the army, as well as chief of the settlement of Calcutta, now took suddenly the resolution of returning home" Now certainly Caillaud never was chief of the settlement of Calcutta, nor did he return immediately to Europe after the campaign; in fact, there is a gross blunder in the whole statement; for Míran's death did not take place until July, 1760, and Clive had returned to England in the preceding February. Gholám Hosain's character for accuracy is in general so high that these mistakes are very unaccountable, and are only to be comprehended by supposing that he was misled by the imperfections of the Persian alphabet.

Colonel Caillaud never made any mystery of his concurrence with this proposition, and states that he immediately apprised the Governor

(Mr. Holwell) of his having done so. He looked upon it, he says, as an idle scheme, the execution of which was utterly impracticable, and he considered the letter from Khándí Rái, on which it was founded, to be a fabrication. He acquiesced, however, in order "to amuse and keep up the foolish hopes of the Nawáb and his son, who required no less a proof (as we then stood affected towards each other) to satisfy them, and remove those fears and jealousies from which we had everything to apprehend." He accordingly allowed his seal to be set to the engagement. The reasons assigned by the Colonel were considered by the Council of Fort William as acquitting him of any evil intention, and the Court of Directors, who had ordered the inquiry, having in the mean time suspended him from his command, confirmed the decision; it sufficiently appearing, to use their own words, that "his motives proceeded from the particular circumstances of affairs at the time, his zeal for the Company's service, the suddenness of the occasion, and a thorough conviction that it was an artifice of the Nabob to try the sincerity of the Company's attachment to him, and that no ill consequences would follow therefrom to the Sháhzáda."—First Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, 26 May, 1772. Appendix, No. 10.

The letters of Kásim Alí Khán are of less novelty than those with which we have been engaged, and most of them are already translated and published in Vansittart's Memoirs. The following are not amongst the number, and are of some interest, as showing that it was at one time in the contemplation of the Bengal Government to have attempted the recovery of Cuttack from the Marhattas. This public object was lost sight of in the quarrels which presently ensued amongst the members of the Government respecting their private interests, and in their disputes with the unhappy Nawáb, on account of their unjustifiable pretensions to commercial privileges and profits.

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بنواب شمس‌الدوله

مستر ونسترت

نوابصاحب مشفق مهربان والا قدر عالي شان کرم فرماي

برادران و مخلصان سلامت

بعد اظهار اشتیاق و تمناي مواصلت و اني المسرت که خلاصهء

"ها ست مشهود ضمیر منیر عطوفت "تخمیر میکرداند

مهرباني نامهء خيريت شمامه مرقومهء بست و ششم شهر
رجب وصول انتعاش شمول نموده خاطر منتظررا بنويد اعتدال
مزاج عاطفت امتزاج مسرور و مطمين ساخت مرقوم خامه
تغقد نكار شده كه از احاطه نمودن كتك انتفاع احقرمد نظر
سامیست نه رفاه كمپني پشتر به قلم در امده بود كه خرچ
فوج كمپني از سركار احقر عايد خواهد شد و الحال از مضمون
رقيمه الاخلاص چنان بدريافت سامي درامده كه درين
كار چندان دلنهادي احقر نيست بنابر خرچ فضول بسركار
كمپني مناسب ندانسته موقوف فرمودند هركاه احقر
درين كار از دل متاعي خواهد شد و اكر فوج انكريزي
مطلوب مخلص خواهد بود بعمل خواهند آورد و مدتيست
كه صوبهء كتك از علاقه نظامت خارج شده بتصرف مرهٔ
سپرد كشته الحال احاطه نمودنش از سر نو مداخلت ساختن
است هرچه اخراجات كمپني در ينكار خواهد شد احقر
عايد سازد و انچه پيشتر از قرار مدار از علاقه نظامت
بدر رفته خارج از قرار داد تصور نمايند و قرار داد فيمابين آن
است كه در متعلقات سركار هر جا زمينداران و ديكر اشرار
شورش خواهند اورد براي تنبيهش فوج كمپني بمدد و اعانت
خواهد پرداخت مهربانا از ابتدا تا حال احقر بكدام وقت
بر زبان آورده و بقلم داده كه انصاحب كارها براي انتفاع
احقر نكرده براي نفع كمپني كرده اند كه ان مشفق اينقسم
ارقام ميفرمايند بعالم الغيب اكاه است كه از اوايل در دل
احقر از الطاف سامي همين متصور است كه هر كار و هر امور

ان صاحب بعمل آورده اند محض براي انتفاع احقر است
و عدم دلنهادي احقر درينكار كه مرقوم است حقيقتش اينكه
احوال پست فطرتي فوج هندي بخدمت نيك و روشن كه از
عهد شاهان سلف و ناظمان سابق كاهي اطاعت كاحقهٔ
نكرده كار آقارا چنانچه بايد سرانجام نداده اند و از مداخل و
مخارج كتك اطلاع يافته كه بشرط مداخلت قرار واقع
بهمه جهت پنج شش لك روپيهرا جايداد خواهد بود و الحال
در مداخلت نمودنش مبالغ خطير از خانه خود خرچ كردن
است بنابر پش ازين در اقدام اين امر پس و پيش محظور
خاطر ميكشت و صوبه بنكالا كجا بالكل بتصرف نظامت بود
كه انصاحب خارج بودن كتك از اختيار نظامت بقلم مي
آرند نواب ميير محمد جعفر خان از ضلع بيربهوم وغيره
تا قريب پنج كروهي مرشدآباد بتصرف غنيم داده و قريب
دو كرور روپهرا طلب تنخواه سپاه بر ذمهء خود واجب الاوا
داشته قسميكه سست عملي و هنكامه متنوعهء بظهور آورده
بودند مخفي نيست و احقر كه كار نظامت قبول كرده بود
ميدانست كه چزي البته بدست خواهد آمد معلوم نبود
كه غير از چهل هزار روپه از خانه نواب جعفر علي خان
بر نخواهد آمد محض بتوجه و امداد انصاحب غنيمرا از
بيربهوم وغيره بدر ساخته در صوبه بنكالا و عظيمآباد مداخلت
نموده و از و يين سپاه تخفيف حاصل كرده اينهمه بدستكيري
ان مشفق است نه از امداد افواج هندي زيرا كه اينها نزد

نواب میر محمد جعفر خان هم بودند و ان مشفق هر کونه
بهر عنوان که دستکیري و امداد بر احقر و فوج احقر از افواج
انکریزي فرموده اند خامه‌را چه یارا که بزبان تواند آورد
دل از ینمعني آکاه اکر مهرباني شریف مصروف احوال احقر نمي
بود اینقدر انتظام و بهتري کارهاي اینجانب بوجهي بظهور
نمیرسید بلکه به نسبت احوال میر محمد جعفر خان بدتر
میشد و احقر در عجب حالت مخمصه کرفتار است که
متصدیان سابق نا انصاف و مهاجنان که بوقت ناظمان
پیشین ده بست لك روپیه داده کار روائي نظامت میکردند
حالا در دادن دو هزار روپیه از ینجانب چشم پوشي مینمایند
و علاوهء این خزانه بحضور والا ارسال داشتن و طلب
تنخواه سپاه دادن ضرور در ینصورت بخویکه تشویش وکدورت‌ها
لا حق است تا چند شرح دهد الحال که جنکو نایك وکیل
جانو جي مرهته‌را جواب داده رخصت کرده شد خرچ در ماه
فوج کمپني که بطرف کتك روانه خواهد شد چه قدر خواهد بود
ارقام باید فرمود که ان‌را در یافته اکر عهده برائي خود
خواهد دید البته بسرانجام ان خواهد کوشید و در صورت
عدم عهده برائي اینچنان بخدمت کرامي اطلاع خواهد داد
زیرا که در امور خارج از مقدور پرداختن و ثاني الحال بعدم
عهده برائي از قرار داد تفاوت بعمل آوردن از آئین ایمان
بیرون است درین ماده قسمیکه بر نکارند بد انموجب
بعمل اورده شود

زیاده چه بر طرازد ایام جمعیت و کامراني مدام باد

LETTER FROM THE NAWÁB MÍR MUHAMMED KÁSIM KHÁN TO MR. VANSITTART.

"To the Nawáb Sáhib, the kind friend, high in dignity, exalted of rank, dispenser of benefits to relatives and friends—Health.

"After that my desire and wish for an interview, complete in delight, nay, the essence of all I long for, has been made clear to your luminous, friendly-disposed mind, the favour of a letter, perfumed with [the information of your] welfare, written on the 26th of the month Rajab, having been received with [the welcome of] restoration to health, has made my expectant mind happy and joyful with the glad tidings of the favourable disposition of one whose very nature is tempered with benevolence. It is noted by the investigation-pourtraying pen that, in invading Cuttack, the benefit of your humble servant, rather than the advantage of the Company, is the object to which your exalted views are directed; and previously it was given in writing that the expences of the Company's army must hereafter be defrayed by my government; but now, from the contents of your friendly letter, it appears that in this matter there is not so much attention shown to your humble servant, because, finding it inconvenient for the Company to be at extraordinary expence, you have stopped the proceeding in this undertaking, although your humble servant will from his heart use every effort in this affair; and if the English army will act up to the wishes of their faithful ally, you will accomplish the business.

"It is now some length of time since the Súba of Cuttack was separated from the Nizámat (Bengal government), and given up to the sway of the Marhattas: to recover it a second time is making an addition [to what is before stipulated?]. Whatever the Company may expend on this affair your humble servant will repay; and all that had been detached from the Bengal government previous to the treaty [between us], you will regard as not included in the contract then formed. The treaty between us stipulates that wherever Zamíndárs and others within my territory shall raise up disturbance and excite disorder, the Company's army shall lend its aid to punish any such rebellious subject. My friend! whenever did I, from the commencement of our intercourse till the present moment, utter or write a word implying that you did not act in any matter for the benefit of your humble servant, but for the advantage of the Company, that you, my friend, should write in this manner? He, to whom all secrets are manifest, well knows that from the beginning it has been constantly impressed on the mind of your humble servant,

by reason of the favours with which he has been honoured, that whatever may have been the transactions which you, Sir, have taken in hand, your aim has been purely the benefitting of your humble servant: and as to the failure of attention in your humble servant to the affair written about, the reason of it must be attributed to the state of the base Indian army, in a good and splendid service; for it, since the time of the old emperors and the former viceroys (názims), never observed obedience as it ought, nor accomplished the undertaking of its master in a becoming manner; and having obtained information relative to the incomings and outgoings of Cuttack, that on condition of its being added to [the Bengal government], certainly there will, all things considered, be a já'edád (assets for the maintenance of troops) to the amount of five or six lakhs of rupees; whilst, at present, for the purpose of gaining the addition, large sums will have to be expended from my private resources; for these reasons, doubt has before now risen in my mind: besides, how has the súba of Bengal in its integrity been placed under the sway of the Názim? that you, Sir, should write of Cuttack's being a matter apart from the dominion of the Názim. The Nawáb Mír Muhammed Jaffier Khán gave up to the dominion of the enemy [the Marhattas] from the Zila of Bírbhúm to about five kos from Murshidábád, and made himself responsible for near two krors of rupees as pay to the army; in such sort, that maladministration, with disorder of various kinds, was produced. This is not a thing unknown; and your humble servant, when he undertook the charge of the Nizámat (government of Bengal), supposed that there would be something certainly to be obtained; he was not then aware that not more than forty thousand rupees would be got from the treasury of the Nawáb Jaffier Alí Khán. Solely by the kindness and assistance of you, Sir, was the enemy expelled from Bírbhúm, &c., these parts restored to the súba of Bengal and Patna, and a diminution effected in the debt owing to the army: all this is to be attributed to your friendly support, and not to the assistance of the Indian army, which belonged in like manner to the Nawáb Mír Muhammed Jaffier Khán [but was of no avail to him]; and what ability has the tongue (point) of the pen to describe the assistance and patronage so kindly afforded, in every way and manner, by that obliging friend to his humble servant, when he formed an army for him from among the English troops? Indeed, my heart is fully conscious that had not your exalted friendship interposed its influence in the affairs of your humble servant. this degree of order and well-doing in them could never in any way have been attained, but that they would have been worse than were the circumstances of Mír

Muhammed Jaffier Khân; and your humble servant is in such a state of distress that when the former rascally mutasaddís and bankers, who, in the times of the preceding Governors of Bengal, were ready to give ten or twenty lakhs of rupees for the management of the business of the Nizámat, refuse even to give two thousand to the existing government: moreover, it is necessary to send treasure to the imperial presence, and to pay the army; but why should the explanation be thus drawn out in a manner which leads to perplexity and vexation? At this moment, when I have answered and dismissed Janko Nâ'ik, the Wakíl of Jánú Jí, the Marhatta, what means remain [to me] to pay the Company's troops about to proceed against Cuttack? You must write [to me], directing that, such being the case, if I shall see it possible to fulfil my engagements, I must certainly accomplish it; and, in case of my being unable to peform so much, I will respectfully explain [to you] the reasons: for to undertake what is out of one's power, and then, in one's inability to accomplish one's engagements, to depart from the contract entered into, is at variance with good faith. In this matter, whatever may be the way you shall be pleased to point out, we shall act according to that. Why should I write more? Be your days of happiness and prosperity ever-during!"

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بنواب شمس‌الدوله مستر ونسترت

کرامي نامهء اتحاد امود متضمن بر اینکه از ابتداي کوچ فوج انکریزي لغایت حصول فتح و فیروزي و مداخلت قرار واقع کتك کمتر از پنج شش لك روپیه خرچ نخواهد شد و امسال فرستادن فوج صورت نخواهد گرفت و یا بر آینده موقوف خواهد داشت اطلاع داده اید و دو سارجن با چند تلنگه جهت تلاش کوره‌هاي فراري فرستاده شده و کپتان کشتیر نیز پش از ین نوشته بودند تنقیح و تصدیق اینمعني بواقعي نموده شود مع خطوط نواب وزیر و مستر ایلس و کپتان کشتیر وصول نموده بمژدهء خبرتها مسرور و منبسط ساخت از

نوشتهء كرامي چنان معلوم ميشود كه امسال فرستادن فوج بسمبت كتك بموجب صلاح هديكر موقوف بايد داشت مهربانا انچه بقلم آورده اند واقعي است و در بن روزها نزد اينجانب هم كشمكش اخراجات است انشاء الله تعالي عند الملاقات بصلاح هديكر قسميكه در ينمقدمه قرار خواهد يافت بعمل خواهد آمد و اينجانب هركز كفتهء كسي غرض‌كو نمي شنود و دوستي و اخلاص سامي‌را مقدم بر جميع امور ميداند و در انچه بهتري كار خود و افزايش دوستيهاي فيمابين مي بيند بموجب ان بعمل مي ارد مستر ايلس كه بزبردستي و خلاف ضابطهء دوستي تلاش قلعه ميخواهند اينجانب اُوشان‌را هركز دخل نخواهد داد مستر هشتنك جلادت جنك بهادر كه از انجا تشريف مي آرند و مستر مكوير جسارت جنك بهادر كه از ينجا بانصوب تشريف مي برند ارقام خواهند فرمود كه انها درون قلعه رفته مكانات سير كرده تفحص كوره‌ها نمايند كه امور فيمابين واحد است و بعنوان زبردستي در دادن تلاش بادم فرستادهء مستر ايلس قباحت دارد اوشان از راه عداوت ميخواهند هركاه بادم اوشان تلاش خواهد داد سبكي و بي اعتمادي كار اينجانب سراسر خواهد شد و تا دار الخلافه و نزد جميع صغير و كبير حرف بي اتفاقي فيمابين مشهور و شايع خواهد كشت كه سردار كوتهي عظيم‌آباد باين طور جهارهء قلعهء مونكير كردت اينمعني غور نمودن ضرور زياده چه بر طرازد ايام جميعت و كامراني مدام باد

"From the Nawáb Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán to the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula, Mr. Vansittart.

"Your honoured letter, replete with unanimity, intimating that 'from the commencement of the march of the English army till the obtaining of victory, and Cuttack be actually entered, less than five or six lakhs of rupees will not be expended; and you have informed me that the expediting of the army may take place this year, or it may be fixed for the future: also, that you have sent two serjeants, with some sipáhís, for the purpose of searching for runaway Europeans.' Captain Carstairs, too, had before written to me that the inquiry and investigation into this matter should actually take place. Having received letters from the Nawáb Vizír (Mr. Vansittart?), as well as from Mr. Ellis and Captain Carstairs, they delighted me with the glad tidings of your welfare. From your honoured letter it appears that, for the convenience of both parties, the expediting of an army against Cuttack must be stopped for this year. My friend, what has been delineated by your pen is correct, for there is great distress with us by reason of the expeditures. God willing, at the [intended] meeting, for the advantage of both parties, in such way as the contract may be concluded with respect to this matter, in that way it shall be done; and I do not listen to the words of any designing person, but account the friendship and good will of you, Sir, as preferable to all other considerations; and may that, in which the prosperity of your affairs, as well as the increase of amity between both parties may seem to consist, be actually done. As to Mr. Ellis, who by violence, and contrary to the rules of friendship, wants to search the fort, I can never allow him to enter it; but as to Mr. Hastings, Jaládat-jang Bahádur, who is coming from your part, and Mr. McGwire, Jasárat-jang Bahádur, who is about to return from this part, I will give a written order that they be admitted within the fort, to search the different habitations, and make inquiry about the white people, because between them and us is unity of purpose; but, by reason of his insolence (زبردستي), to allow the search to a man sent by Mr. Ellis, would be an act of infamy. He makes the demand with a view to exciting enmity; I will never give leave for the search to any man of his; it would be productive of universal contempt and mistrust in my government, and even to the Emperor's court, as well as to both high and low everywhere; it would spread as a proof of misunderstanding between [us, *i.e.*, the Company and myself]. They would say sneeringly that the Superintendant of the Patna factory got possession of the fortress of Mongír by bullying in

this way. You should attentively consider the subject in this light. Why should I intrude on you with writing more? May your days of happiness and prosperity be ever-during!"

A translation of the following letter is published in the second volume of Vansittart's Narrative, p. 97, but without the original, which strikingly illustrates the extortion and insolence to which the unhappy Nawáb was subjected.

خط نواب مير محمد قاسم خان بنواب شمس‌الدوله مستر ونسترت

نوابصاحب مشفق مهربان والا قدر عالي شان كرم فرماي برادران و مخلصان سلامت

بعد شرح اشتياق ملاقات كرامي كه خلاصه مطالب است مشهور ضمير عاطفت مصير ميكرداند مرقوم خامه اتحاد شمامه شده بودكه نزد احقر غرضمندان خواهند بود كه بخلاف نمائي اراده دارند كه مابين اينجانب و سرداران ناخوشي بهم رسد درينمعني تفحص بكار برده ان متخللرا بسزاي واقعي رساند صاحبمن دربنمقدمه انچه احقر بقلم مي‌آرد خوب غور بايد كرد كه از تاريخيكه اينجانب از ان مهربان قول و عهد كرده و نبد و بست نموده از انجا عازم اينصوب شده است كاهي بر خلاف ان از يك ادم و سردار و سپاهي وكشتي و اجناس متعلقه ان مهربان متعرض نكشته و نه براي فرمايشات و بهريات معمولي محالاتيكه به تنخواه كمپني مقرر نموده شده است يك پياده فرستاده بلكه مطلق از ان دست بردار شده و در هيچ مقدمهء ان محالات خطي بان مهربان نه نوشته مهربانا

هرگاه از طرف اینجانب حرکتي که موجب تخالف اطوار
دوستي و عهد باشد بظهور نرسیده پس باید دریافت که در مجلس
و نزد احقر چگونه جاي گنجایش کسي خلل انداز و غرضگو تواند
بود و اطوار سرداران انصاحب این ست که خلل در ملك
اینجانب انداخته رعایارا تاراج میکنند وکمر بر سبکي کارهاي
اینجانب بسته مردمان اینجانبرا بي‌آبرو و بیحرمت میسازند
و از سرحد هندوستان تا کلکته روادار خفت و سبکي اینجانب
شده اند و در هر پرگنه و هر دیهه دهده بست‌بست کوتهي
نواحداث قایم کرده نشان و جهنده و دستك کمپني بر پاو نمود
ساخته به اذیت و اضرار رعایا و بیوپاریان وغیره مردم ملکي
جهد بلیغ دارند و انصاحب که پیش از ین بنابر تفحص
کشتیها دستکات از مهر خود درست ساخته فرستاده بودند
اینجانب در هر چوکیات فرستاده بود مردمان انکریزي ان
دستکات‌را هرگز منظور نمیدارند بلکه بزد و بست مستعد
شده مردمان اینجانب‌را بیحرمت ساختند و میسازند و این
کوتهي‌هاي نواحداث بر پا ساخته کارها که جاري کرده اند نام ان
کاهي کسي در کمپني نشنیده و هرگماشته بنکالي در هرکوتهي هنکامه
آرا کشته خودرا کم از کمپني نمیداند و در هر پرگنه و هر دیهه و
هر کوتهي نمك و سپیاري و روغن زرد و برنج و کاه و بانس و
تات و ماهي ادرك و چني و تنباکو و پیپل و پیپلا مول و افیون
خرید و فروخت مینمایند و سیواي این بسیار چیزها ست
تا چند نام ان نوشته شود و نوشتنش بعید از مناسب
میداند و اموال و اجناس رعایا و بیوپاریان وغیره بزور میگیرند

و بجاي قيمت يكروپيه پاو روپيه ميدهند و مال يك روپيه‌را
از راه جبر و تعدي بقيمت پنجروپيه ذمه‌واري رعايا وغيره
مينمايند و اسامي كه در سركار اينجانب مالگذاري صد روپيه
مينمايد اورا براي پنجروپيه مي بندند و فضيحت ميكنند و ادم
اينجانب‌را عمل نميدهند حالا قريب چهارپانصد كوتهي نواحدات
در محالات متعلقه اينجانب مقرر و قايم شده است و در هر
كوتهي آنقدر هنگامه پردازي و ايذا رساني باحوال غربا و رعايا
است كه تا چند شرح دهد عاملان هر مكان از عملداري باز
مانده اند چنانچه بسبب همين بدعتها و عدم حصول محصول
و چوكيداري و خزانه قريب بست پنجلك روپه‌را ساليانه نقصان
اينجانب ميشود در ينصورت احقر چگونه عهده برا تواند شد
و زر بادشاهي بچه قسم ادا خواهد نمود و از عهدهء اخراجات
سپاه و لابدي خود بچه طور خواهد برامد علي هذاالقياس در
پرگنه دیناجپور كه رام ناتهه بهدري‌را عامل مقررکرده فرستاده ام
در انجا سيواي كوتهي سابق بست كوتهي در يك كنج نواحدات
شده است چنانچه عامل مذكور فرد ان مع تعداد كوتهي و
و اسم نويسي كماشتها فرستاده بود بجنس بخدمت سامي ارسال
داشت مطالعه خواهند فرمود و هر كوتهي‌دار انجا همچو مختار
است كه هر وقت ميخواهد عامل مذكوررا مي نشاند و هر
وقت ميخواهد بيدخل ميسازد لهذا متصدعه است كه فكر و
تدبير همچو خريد و فروخت كاه و بانس وغيره كه كاهي در
كمپني نشده بود زود بايد فرمود و قسميكه احقر محالات‌را
كمپني تفويض نموده چزي كار نميدارد لازم كه همين قسم

انصاحب و سرداران وغیره مردمان انکریزي هم از محالاتیکه بتوجه انصاحب بعلاقه احقر است چزي کار نداشته باشند و اینجانب انچه قول و قرارکرده بود بفضل الهي چزي در ان تفاوت نکرده و نمیکند و نخواهد کرد پس چرا سرداران وغیره مردمان انکریزي کار اینجانب‌را سبك و خفیف مي سازند و روادار نقصان اینجانب میشوند زود متوجه شده فکر اینمعني باید نمود و بوجهي تساهل نخواهند فرمود که اینمعني موجب سبکي امورات و نقصان تمام‌تر احقر است زیاده چه بر طرازد ایام جمعیت و کامراني مدام باد

A Letter of the Nawáb Mír Muhammad Kásim Khán to the Nawáb Shamsuddaula, Mr. Vansittart.

"To the Nawáb-Sáhib, the kind friend, high in authority, exalted in dignity, dispenser of bounty to relatives and friends—Health!

"After the declaration of my ardent wish for the honour of an interview, which is indeed the choicest of things to be desired, has been made known to [your] mind, the benevolence of which is unbounded, it is written by [your] concord-perfumed pen, that near [me] your humble servant there must be designing people, who, contrary to appearances, harbour the intention to excite dissatisfaction between this side [myself] and the Sardárs (Company's officers), into which matter investigation should be made, and the mischief-maker be punished. On this head, you, Sir, should well consider what I am writing, which is that when, after having made an agreement as well as a settlement of affairs, I took my departure from you to proceed to this quarter, I have never, in contradiction to that agreement, offered opposition to any individual, whether officer or sepoy, or stopped any boat or merchandize of yours, my friend; nor have I ever sent any one piyáda (messenger) for farmá'isháts or the customary (bahriyát) allowances of the districts (maháls) assigned to the Company; but have in all respects refrained from them; nor have I ever written to you, my friend, any letter relative to those maháls (districts). O friend, at no time has any act proceeded from me which can be

regarded as contrary to the observances of amity and the treaty; you may, therefore, be assured that in the court or society of your humble servant, no mischief-maker nor evil designer could possibly find admission: yet it is the practice of the Sardárs on your side to excite a disturbance in my dominions, that they may plunder my subjects, and presuming on the low state of affairs here, they insult and dishonour my people: so that from the very frontier of Hindustan to Calcutta they have occasioned contempt and disrespect for us. Having, moreover, newly erected in every pargana and every village, in some ten, in others each twenty factories (kothí); and having set up the flags and standards of the Company, and exhibited the Company's licenses (dastak), they use every exertion to injure and distress the tillers of the land as well as the traders and others belonging to my government. The permits, too, and orders for the searching of boats, which you, Sir, sent heretofore, correctly prepared and signed with your own seal, and which I have forwarded to every (chaukí) place for the collection of customs, are uniformly disregarded by the Englishmen; nay, by beating and putting in confinement, they have insulted and continue to insult my people. Having, as above noticed, raised up these new factories, they commit such acts there as were never before heard of in the country; so that every Bengalí agent in every factory, having become an exciter of disturbances, looks upon himself as nothing below the Company; and in every pargana and village and factory buys and sells salt, betel-nut, butter, rice, straw, bambú, matting (tát), fish, ginger, sugar-candy (chiní), tobacco, pepper, long pepper (píplá-múl), and opium[1]; besides these things, also, there are more,—too many to be enumerated. Moreover, they take away by force the goods and chattels of the peasants, traders, &c., and for an article worth a rupee they give a quarter of a rupee; exacting, on the other hand, by violence, five rupees from a respectable man for merchandize worth not more than one rupee: and a cultivator (asámí), who is a payer of rent to the amount of a hundred rupees to our government, they dishonour by sending to prison for five rupees. To any one person of mine they give no employment or office (aml). At this time, near four or five hundred factories, newly built, are established in the districts (mahálát) of my government: and in each of those factories such trouble and injury is occasioned to the affairs of the poor and the peasants as cannot be described. My collectors in every town have been obliged to give up the duties of their offices; so that by reason of these innovations, and the impossibility

[1] In these articles, the English were, by treaty, restrained from dealing.

of collecting the taxes, the customs, and the revenue, there is a deficiency to my government of nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees annually. When things are in this state, how can your humble servant fulfil his engagements? How pay the Emperor's money? How discharge what is due to the army? How provide what is indispensible for himself? As, for instance, in the pargana of Dínájpúr, where I have sent and fixed Rám Náth Bhadrí as collector, in addition to the former factory, there are set up twenty new ones in one market (ganj), of which the aforesaid collector has transmitted me a list, as well as the names of the agents (gumáshtahá), which is forwarded unaltered to you, Sir, for your inspection; and every agent there acts as if he were under no authority; so that, when he pleases, he allows my collector to sit down [in the factory], and, when he pleases, he forbids his entrance.[1] It is, therefore, a matter of the greatest anxiety [to me] that your attention and deliberation be directed to the manner in which straw, bambú, &c., that never appertained to the Company, are bought and sold; and, in like manner, as this government meddles not with the affairs of the districts (mahálát) which are given over to the Company, it is fit that you, Sir, together with the Sardárs (gentlemen in office), and others the English people, should not have to do with the districts which, by your favour, are now belonging to your humble servant. In all that was stipulated for and contracted on my part, not a single thing at variance has been done, is doing, or shall be done; then why do the Sardárs and others, Englishmen, debase and render contemptible our authority, as well as countenance what is detrimental to us? Have the goodness shortly to take these matters into consideration, and let them not be overlooked in any way; for these things are bringing the authority of your humble servant into contempt, and are most detrimental to his interest. Why should I write more? Be the days of your happiness and prosperity everduring!"

A translation of the following letter has also been printed in Vansittart's Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 43); but it places in so distinct and lively a manner the unprincipled proceedings of the Council of Fort William in their conduct towards Kásim Alí, and the feelings which it could not fail to inspire, that it is highly valuable as a historical record, and deserves to be further authenticated; the original, therefore, is here for the first time printed, with a translation prepared by Mr. Shakespear for the Journal.

[1] Or, "forbids him to interfere."

خط نواب میر محمد قاسم خان بصاحبان کوسلیان
کلکته

انصاحبان که مبلغ بست لك روپه از ینجانب ناحق
طلب مینمایند بسیار تعجب مینماید اینمعني از ضابطه
مردم عمده بیرون است چیزیکه نکرفتند و انکار کردند
بعد از ان نادم شده بنام اقاي خودها کرفتن میخواهند
و طلب میکنند از مناسب بعید است في الواقع که
اینجانب پیشتر قرار کرده بود که بنواب شمس‌الدوله مستر
هنري ونسترت بهادر و بعضي صاحبان دیکر خواهم داد ان
زمان قبول نکرده انکار محض نمودند و کفتند که مایان
خیرخواه کار کمپني هستیم براي خودها چزي نمیخواهیم
بردوان و غیره سه۳ محال بکمپني بدهند که همین کافیست
و اینجانب براي صاحبان که قبول کرده بود انصاحبان
از ینملك تشریف بردند یك دو صاحب از ان میان
که در ینملك تشریف میدارند معلوم نمیشود که از ینجانب
طلب خواهند نمود انصاحب که در ینجا تشریف آورده اند
و ناحق دعوي از ینجانب میدارند بکدام دست آویز
و بکدام داعیه از اینجانب طلب مینمایند اینجانب که
بانصاحبان براي کار کمپني قول و قرار کرده است باید که
بر ان مد نظر دارند و اینجانب هر کاه قرار کرده که
بردوان وغیره سه۳ محال بکمپني خواهم داد ان مهربانان
از طرف کمپني اقرار کرده نوشته داده اند که بعد یافتن
بردوان وغیره دامي و درمي از شما زیاده نخواهم طلبید

چنانچه اینجانب هر چه قرار کرده بود موافق آن
هکي و تماشي ایفاي وعده نموده سیواي ان بموجب کفته
وپاس خاطر نواب شمس‌الدوله بهادر و حوشي خود مبلغ پنج
لك روپه افزود در سرکار کمپني براي ان دادم که کمپني از
نواب شمس‌الدوله بهادر راضي و خوشنود باشد و اینجانب‌را
بهر امور دوست خود تصور نمایند بفضل الهي انچه
اینجانب قرار کرده بود تا حال هکي‌را سرانجام داده و در یك
کار اختلاف نکرده ان مهربان با وجود یکه قسم اقسام
در میان آورده اقرار نامه بمهر کمپني نوشته داده اند و قول
و قرار نموده اند و الحال که از ینجانب طلب مینمایند
اینجانب کاهي از انصاحبان قرض نکرده و قبول نه نموده
و هیچ وجه حقوق انصاحبان بر اینجانب نیست اینجانب
یك روپه کسي بر ذمهء خود ندارد و نخواهد داد و رسم نو که
انصاحبان بر خلاف قول و قرار جاري کردن میخواهند اینجانب
این حرفهاي قضیه آمیزرا بر پا نخواهد کرد و نخواهد
شنید فرموده اند که انچه کدورت از طرف انکریز دارد
ان‌را از دل محو ساخته تصفیه نماید بدریافت اینمعني
تعجب دست داد که کدام حرف موجب کدورت از
ینجانب سرزده و کدام کس اینقسم سخنان دروغ پیش
انصاحبان اظهار نموده لازم که قرار واقع تجویز و تفحص
اینمعني نمایند و پیش از ین هر حقیقي که از مردمان
انصاحبان سرزد شده بود مفصلاً براي اطلاع سامي مرقوم
نموده است و ضابطهء دنیاست که در میان برادر و پدر و پسر

و دوستان و احبا حرف نشیب فراز مي‌آید و زود بصفا و اخلاص بتبدل مي باید و اینقسم حرفها قابل ان نبود که خاطر اینجانب‌را منسوب بکدورت نموده سخنا ینکه بعید از شرایط دوستي و اتحاد باشد گفته بفرستند ایما شده بود که مردم شریر و بد طینت در ینجا است که غمازي انصاحبان بحضور اینجانب مینماید مهربانا پش از ین مکرر نوشته شده که کدام حرام زاده در مجلس اینجانب خواهد بود که چیزي غمازي از طرف انصاحبان بحضور اینجانب تواند نمود بمجرد دریافت اینمعني ان حرام زاده‌را بسزا رساینده شود و اکر بدریافت انصاحبان در آمده باشد نام او نوشته بفرستند که به تنبیهش پرداخته شود و تا حالت تحریر بسیار و بهر جا کوتهي‌هاي نواحداث براي خرید و فروخت اجناس هر قسم که خارج از ائین تجارت است بابت کمپني و انصاحبان مقرر و قایم شده است تا حال اینجانب نه مردمان اینجانب چزي تعرض رسانیده و نه ممانعت کرده و نه یك روپه نقصان انصاحبان شده حیف است که ان صاحبان بي سبب و بي تحقیق همچنین سخنان‌را در دل جا میدهند و به نسبت احوال تودد اشتمال مخلص بر زبان مي آرند و مردم انصاحبان که از طرف اینجانب نزد انصاحبان همیشه بدکوئي و غمازي مینماید و سخنان مخالفت ظاهر میسازد انکس از ان صاحب پوشیده نیست و مستر ایلس روبري اینجانب اینقدر ظلم و بدعت بر مردمان اینجانب نمود و ملك‌را ویران ساخت و

اینجانبرا در تمام هندوستان خفیف و سبك گردانید و در هر امور نظامت صوبه بهار خلل انداخت چنانچه اینهمه احوال از ابتدا تاحال شرحوار بنواب شمس‌الدوله بهادر نوشته ام و حالا از سر نو اینمقدمه‌را براي ان طول دادن نمیخواهم که اینجانب البته میداند که نواب شمس‌الدوله بهادر و صاحبان کونسل اینمقدمه‌را خوب انصاف و تجویز خواهند نمود که هر کس بي موجب و بي سبب از ینجانب اخذ و عداوت کرده است تنبیهه او قرار واقع خواهند نمود که باز کسي دیکر خلل انداز امورات اینجانب نکردد و درکارهاي اینجانب دخل نکند تا که انصاف نکرده تنبیهه او نخواهند نمود کارهاي اینجانب انتظام نخواهد یافت ایما شده بود که اخلاص و دوستي و قول و قرار انکریزرا راست و درست از دل تصوّر نماید في الواقع که اینمعني از پیشتر بخاطر اینجانب متحقق است که در اخلاص و ارتباط اینجانب و انصاحبان بوجهي تفاوت نخواهد شد و هر چند مردم بد نهاد سخنان مخالفت در میان آرد و تغرزي نماید خللي در میان دوستي و اتحاد فیمابین راه نخواهد یافت زیرا که بیقین میدانم که قول و عهد کلاه پوشان کاهي اختلاف و زوال پذیر نیست و انچه انصاف و تجویز مینمایند راست و درست است

LETTER FROM THE NAWÁB MÍR MUHAMMAD KÁSIM KHÁN TO THE COUNCIL OF FORT WILLIAM.

"It is a cause of great surprise that you, Sirs, should unjustly ask for a sum of twenty lakhs of rupees from me: such a procedure is out

of character for any respectable person. It is far from proper that you should now demand what you would not before receive, and refused; but, repenting of what you had done, you should subsequently make the demand in the name of your masters. The case is this: some time ago I promised that I would give it to Mr. Henry Vansittart and certain other gentlemen; but at that time they refused, saying, 'We are well-wishers to the Company's affairs, and we cannot take anything for ourselves; let Bardwán, &c., three maháls be given to the Company; that is sufficient.' For the sake of the gentlemen who assented to the contract, but who have now left this country, as well as for the sake of two or three from among them still remaining here, let it not be made public that you thought of instituting this demand; and with what sort of dast-áwez (writing), and with what kind of petition, can those gentlemen, who have honoured this country with their coming here [lately], and who unfairly make this claim on me, solicit aught of us? It behoves them to have regard to the contract entered into between me and those gentlemen on the part of the Company. When I assented to give up to the Company, Bardwán, &c., three maháls, those friendly persons,[1] who acted on the part of the Company, gave me a written assurance, as agreed upon, that 'after the getting possession of Bardwán, &c., three maháls, I will not ask from you a dám or dirhem more.' Whatever I had promised, that in full and completely have I performed; besides, in consequence of what I had said, and to secure the good will of the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádur, as well as for the gratification of myself, I gave the sum of five lakhs of rupees over and above, for the purpose that the Company might be satisfied and pleased with the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula, and might consider me in all things as their friend. By the favour of heaven, whatever I promised, that altogether have I hitherto accomplished, without in even one instance breaking my engagement. That friend [Mr. Vansittart?], in addition to a kind of adjuration,[2] gave [me] a written covenant, bearing the seal of the Company, and settled the agreement; and now you make an [additional] demand. I have never borrowed from those gentlemen [the Council], nor have I received [aught]; and those gentlemen have in no way any just claim, nor has a single rupee been entrusted [by them] to my charge: I shall not, therefore, pay [back aught]. It is

[1] In the original, a plural, as here rendered; but, from what follows, only one person seems intended, and that may have been Mr. Vansittart.

[2] قسم اقسام (doubtful as to the sense); perhaps a solemn oath may be really intended.

a novel practice which you, gentlemen, are seeking to establish, in contradiction to the agreement; but neither will I propagate unfriendly roproaches, nor will I listen to them. You say, 'let all mistrust (کدورت) which may have been entertained towards the English, be obliterated and cleared from the mind.' At this remark I am perfectly astonished. What have I uttered which can be regarded as an indication of mistrust? And what person can have communicated false words of this import to you? It is indispensable that you cause a strict inquiry and investigation into this. Hitherto, every word used by your people has been written down in detail for your information; and it is the fixed rule of good morals that if any jarring should take place between brothers, or father and son, or friends and associates, it should quickly be replaced by sincerity and affection. Such reproaches, however, have never before been made me, as that my mind is affected with mistrust (کدورت)—words which are far remote from the ordinances of concord and friendship. You write, 'Intimation has been given [us], that there is a certain ill-disposed person with you, who slanders us in your presence.' Before this, too, you had written repeatedly that there might be some scoundrel (حرام زادہ) in my court, who ventured to vilify you in my presence; and that should such one be discovered, he ought forthwith to be given over to punishment.' If such an one, indeed, has been found out by you, let his name be transmitted in writing, that he may get adequate punishment. My letter is already very long; but [allow me to say that] in every place new factories are being founded on behalf of the Company and you, Gentlemen, for the buying and selling of articles of every kind, not enumerated in the regulations for the trade; yet, hitherto, neither I nor any of my people have offered any opposition thereto, nor thwarted [you], nor occasioned the detriment of one single rupee to you, Gentlemen. It is a pity that you should admit, without cause or proof, such ideas in your minds, and should with the tongue, give utterance to them, in regard to your sincerely attached friend. It is not unknown to us what person among you, Gentlemen, is constantly speaking ill of and slandering us; and Mr. Ellis, whilst he was present with me, committed such acts of tyranny and oppression towards my people as tended to drive the inhabitants from the country, as well as to defame and degrade me throughout Hindustan; giving rise to distraction in all the affairs of the government of Behár, the particulars of which I specified, in a letter of detail from the very beginning till now, to the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádur (Mr. Vansittart): at present, to avoid pro-

lixity, I will not repeat this subject; but I certainly assure myself that the Nawáb Shams-ud-daula Bahádur and the gentlemen of the Council will investigate this my cause [of complaint] in a judicial way; so that whoever he may be who has cavilled and manifested animosity, without reason, against me, he may not escape actual punishment, to the end that others may be deterred from mischief-making and interfering in my affairs; for if he should not be tried, he will meet with no punishment, and the affairs of my government can never exist in good order. It is, moreover, intimated that I should consider the friendship, alliance, and treaty with the English as good and unobjectionable: in truth, this conviction is so firmly rooted in my heart, that any separation or break in the alliance and connexion between myself and you, Gentlemen, can in no way ever occur. Though an ill-disposed individual may introduce unfriendly words, and propagate slander, yet no actual interruption can possibly be effected in the friendship and concord existing between us, as I have full confidence that the words and promises of the hat-wearers[1] are never disregarded or broken; and that which trial and investigation evince must be regarded as just and good."

[1] كلاه پوشان hat-wearers or diadem-wearers; the word seems to bear an equivocal meaning, as if used in either a taunting or respectful sense.

ERRATUM.

Page 123—for *Sáhib-jang*, read *Sábit-jang*, as Clive's native title.

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TRAVELS BEYOND THE HIMALAYA,

BY MIR IZZET ULLAH.

Republished from the Calcutta Oriental Quarterly Magazine, 1825.

Introduction.

[The Royal Asiatic Society having determined to reprint occasionally papers which may be considered of interest, or may contain useful information, and which, although in print, are not generally procurable in this country, have been pleased to select in the present instance a translation made by me many years ago, and published anonymously in one of the periodical publications of the Calcutta press. At the time of its publication, the subject was entirely new. It has lost something of the gloss of novelty by the more comprehensive journals which have since appeared; but it still contains information regarding parts of Turkestan and Central Asia, which is not derivable from any better source, as the countries have not been visited in modern times by European travellers. In what has also ceased to be novel, the observations of the traveller are not without interest, as they relate to a political state of the countries traversed, which had undergone a change for the worse even when Izzet Ullah's steps were followed by Moorcroft and Trebeck, and which has become still further deteriorated by the anarchy that has so long distracted Afghanistan. The journal of Izzet Ullah is in most places little more than a mere itinerary, and it is so far more serviceable to geography than to history; but he occasionally extends his notes so as to furnish materials for the latter.

Not being in possession of the manuscript which I originally consulted, it has not been possible to make any alteration from that source. I have, however, compared the translation with a different copy of the original, which has been lent to me by the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and from it I have made a few alterations and additions. The changes are not of any great moment, and would probably be equally justified by my original text, as except occasionally in the names of places, there does not seem to be any material difference.

Some of the notes have been omitted or altered to suit our better knowledge of the countries derived from the travels of Burnes, Moorcroft, Wood, and Vigne.]

H. H. Wilson.

In the year 1812, Mir Izzet Ullah, a servant of the enterprising and enlightened traveller Mr. Moorcroft, was dispatched on a preparatory tour to those countries which Mr. M. purposed to visit at a favourable period. Izzet Ullah travelled from Delhi to Kashmir, from Kashmir to Tibet, from Tibet to Yarkand, from Yarkand to Kashghar, thence to Kokan, from Kokan to Samarkand, thence to Bokhara, Balkh, and Khulm, and from Khulm to Kabul by way of Bamian, whence he returned to the plains of Hindustan. In this tour, he kept a journal of his stages, and the objects that attracted his attention; and being a man of intelligence and observation, collected much valuable information, although not of so detailed or precise a description as to anticipate the value of those accounts, which we may expect from the enquiries of our countryman. Several copies of Izzet Ullah's tour were made and distributed, and one of them through the kindness of a friend[1] having come into our possession, we have thought a translation of part of its contents might not be unacceptable to our readers; the tract of country over which the traveller passed, is in great part unknown to Europeans, and the details will at least have the merit of novelty to recommend them.

We omit the first part of Izzet Ullah's travels from Hindustan through Kashmir, and begin with his route from

Kashmir to Tibet.

The last station in Kashmir is called *Sonamurg*. (سونامرگ) It is a village of some fifty or sixty houses[2]; the road is difficult and rocky, so as to be impassable to a mounted traveller. The road is on the right bank of the Sindh, and the village is on the same: the ruins of a Serai, erected by Ibrahim Khan, are here met with.

North-east from *Sonamurg*, five cos[3], is *Báltál*, (بالتال) an uninhabited station, with the exception of one house for the accommodation of travellers: along the skirts of the mountain on the right of the road runs the Sindh[4]; and its sources are not far off; the

[1] Henry Wood, Esq., Accountant-General, Bengal.

[2] When visited by Moorcroft in 1822, the number of houses was reduced to five or six. Vigne's enumeration is two or three. According to the former, Sonamurg is so called from the "golden pheasant," which is in the neighbouring woods. The latter explains the name to import "the golden hill," from the number of pretty flowers found there in the spring.

[3] The cos of Izzet Ullah generally corresponds with the mile of Moorcroft.

[4] The source of the Sindh is in the mountains about Amara-nath. (Vigne.) In

road is broad and practicable. *Báltál* is within the limits of Kashmir; but close to it on the east runs a mountainous elevation which separates Kashmir from Tibet; thenceforward the road is over mountainous and barren paths, but abundant in springs.

Matayan, (متایں) ten cos east by north from the last station, is a village on the right bank of the river of Little Tibet: the inhabitants are mostly Musalmáns of the Suni sect: it depends on Tibet, and the Tibetan language here begins to be spoken.

After leaving *Báltál* about four gharis, the road ran over the top of the mountain, and was practicable enough: on the descent it lay under unmelted snow for about an arrow's flight. One cos from thence on the right of the road, and on the summit of a hill, two large blocks of stone were observable: they say there were two brothers of the race of giants, who in former times disputed about the right to the springs here, and they at last fixed these stones to denote that half the water belonged to Little Tibet, called Balti, and half to Kashmir. One brother was named Wuga, (وگا) and the other Sugan, (سگن) hence the place is called *Wugasugan,* and to the present day these *Deos* are said to be the respective guardians of the several portions of the water. In short on this spot arise several springs, half of which flow to Tibet, and half to Kashmir; for whilst hither it had been a continued ascent, the road hence began to descend, and consequently the mountain streams following the course of this declivity, run partly on one side, forming the Sindh of Kashmir, and on the other they flow towards Tibet, forming the river of that country. The river of Tibet[1], after leaving that country, runs by Muzaferabad: below Muzaferabad, one cos, it unites with the river of Kashmir, and the combined river descends to the Panjab, under the name of Jhelum or Behut (بہت). All the water flowing to Tibet from the Wugasugan mountain takes a north-eastern direction as far as to Puskyum, when it turns off towards Muzaferabad.

his map, the road runs here south of the river, or along its left bank. The Sindh runs westward, passes north of Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, and falls into the Behut, above eight miles to the north-west of it.

[1] This account of the course of the Tibetan river is not correct, but the error is excusable, and no means of correcting it existed at the time when the notice was written. The river that joins the Behut below Muzaferabad is the Krishna-gangá, the source of which was with equal inaccuracy placed within Kashmir, whilst it rises in the mountain skirting the Steppe of Deosa. The river of Tibet, or rather the Dras river, joins the great southern branch of the Indus.

Panderás[1], (پندراس) two cos east, is situated on the left of the river of Little Tibet. A kind of crow with red beak and legs is found here, which is considered by the Mohammedans as lawful food, and eaten accordingly; there is also an animal which resembles a jackal, called, in the Kashmirian language, Daruwan, (دروون) which is held unlawful; its skin forms a warm clothing, and its flesh is very beneficial in leprosy. The road along the river of Tibet is good.

Dirás[2], (دراس) east, four cos, is the name of a small Pargana; the villages are as close to each other as if they were the divisions of a city, and this Pargana itself may be considered as one town. The governor is entitled the *Kehrpun*, (کهرپون) and is sent from Tibet. The houses of this country, hitherward from Matayan, were all in a ruinous and deserted condition, a number of persons having been carried off the year before by a party of people called Dardi, (دردي) an independent mountain tribe[3], three or four marches north from Diras, who speak the Pushtu as well as the Daradi language: their religion is not known. It is said to be a journey of ten stages to Badakhshan from Kashmir, through the country of the Dardis. The invaders were about 300, and they carried off 250 persons. The prisoners they make in these predatory incursions they sell as slaves. After this transaction a party of matchlock men were stationed at Diras, by order of the ruler of Kashmir, under the son of Málik Ahkám, who holds half the revenue of the country from Matayan to Diras, in jagir from the Raja of Tibet[4].

[1] Moorcroft calls it also Pandras, but, as noticed in his *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 93, it is probably Payín or Lower Dras.

[2] In the former publication this was written Diriras from Izzet Ullah's vowel marks as they appeared in the manuscripts employed. Mr. Elphinstone's copy has however Dirás, دراس, and all the travellers agree in calling it Dras. It is also named Him-bab, "the gate or pass of snow," (Moorcroft,) and is 9000 feet above the level of the sea.—Vigne.

[3] The Durds of the present day, Daradas of the Sanskrit writers, and Daradæ of the classical geographers.

[4] Moorcroft mentions that the lands (or rather perhaps the revenues) of Dras were the joint property of the Raja of Ladakh, and the Malik of the neighbouring frontier of Kashmir, under an ancient grant from the Raja. The Maliks of Kashmir were officers holding lands on condition of defending the passes. When Mr. Vigne visited Dras, a small fort had been erected there, garrisoned by Sikh soldiers.—Vol. ii., p. 393.

Kerchho, (کرچھو) east by north fifteen cos, like the former is a Pargana, full of contiguous villages: the houses are of wood, and neatly built: the inhabitants are mostly Mohammedans of the Shia sect. There are two lofty mountains on the road, between which is an open halting-place for caravans eight cos from Diras: there is also a spring of water: after passing between these heights, there is a small village called Bunduk, and then comes Kerchho. Onions abound on the mountains: the cows here have tails as long as horses, and the crows are black and white.

Tirispun (ترسپون) is two cos from the river on the left bank.

Pashkam[1], (پشکم) east by north five cos, on the left of the river, but three cos distant. The river here leaves Little Tibet. The people are Shias, under Raja Mohammed Ali Khan, subject to the Raja of Tibet, and married to his sister. His sister is in like manner wedded to the Raja, and both ladies have adopted the religion of their respective husbands. Pashkam is a pleasant spot, abounding with water, and poplars, and willows. A good road leads to the village of Minji, two cos from Tirispun.

Mulbi[2], (ملبی) east by north six cos: near this is a rock like a mountain, and on it is a castle, and a residence of the Lama, and many figures are sculptured; there is also a figure, carved of stone, near the village; the name of the image is not known. Here are the remains of a Serai, founded by Ibrahim Khan: part of the population follow the religion of Tibet, and there is a small establishment of Kaluns (Ghelums), or Tibetan monks, to which the land between Mulbi and Dirás chiefly belongs[3]. Barley and wheat are reaped here about the end of September.

The next stages in the same direction are the villages of *Hanskot,* (حنسکوت) six cos, and *Lámayuru,* (لامایرو) five cos; the latter is a station of the Lamas: there are other villages in the vicinity. We then come to *Khalach*[4], (کہلاچ) five cos from the last; beyond this the road ran along the skirts of the mountains, and was very rugged and uneven: in some places chasms had been rendered passable by

[1] Moorcroft calls the place Pushkyum; the river means the main stream of the Indus, which here turns at a sharp angle from a westerly to a northerly course.

[2] The Molbi of Moorcroft, who also describes the sculptured figure on the rock.

[3] Moorcroft mentions that the number of Gelums and Chumas, monks and nuns attached to the establishment at Lama-yuru, is said to be 500.

[4] Khalets.—Moorcroft.

stones laid across, but the whole was impassable on horseback. The river of Tibet runs past Khalach; it is the same with the river of Attek (the Indus), and runs from the north-east to the south-west; the stream is said to unite with the river *Shayuk*, (شایوق) which rises in a mountain between Tibet and Yarkand: the river here has no particular name, but is called *Sampo*, (سانپو) signifying in the language of Tibet, the great river. A wooden bridge is built across it at Khalach, which is on the right bank.

Continuing the road, we pass through a country abounding with various kinds of fruit, apples, apricots, pomegranates, and other sorts: the road is uneven, but the hills are not of great elevation. At the distance of two cos from Khalach is Nur-Ullah[1]; (نوراله) from thence, three cos, is Himchi; (هیمچی) and three cos further is Saspul[2]: (سسپول) one road runs along the bank of the river. In this country is the wild ass (or horse?)[3], the flesh of which is a great remedy with Yunani physicians. This is its native country. From hence, at the distance of two or three cos, is a large village called Nima, (نیمه) and at a little distance Buzgo, (بزگو) whence a short and good road leads to

Le (لی) a populous city, the capital of Tibet, and always intended by that term or Tibet, when it is applied to the city. Fruit trees are few, but willows about it are plenty. It is situated about a cos from the right bank of the Sampo: the road to it is good. There are several villages in the intermediate space between it and the river, and along the latter in its vicinity. The people of the place call the country Ladágh. (لداغ) In Kashmir they called the country Buten, (بطن) and the people Bot; and in Persian and Turkish the country is called Tibet, the word Tibet signifying in Turki *shawl-wool*[4], which is procured here most abundantly, and of

[1] Moorcroft calls it Sneurla, but adds, that the Kashmirians call it Nur-ullah.

[2] These are the Himis and Saspuleh of Moorcroft.

[3] This is the kiang, which Moorcroft has still left undetermined, though it seems to be allied to the quagga.

[4] According to Klaproth and Remusat, it is derived from *Turfan*, the name of a people described under that denomination by the Chinese historians of the sixth century, as occupying the countries bordering on *Shu-chwan* and *Shen-si;* this word may be read, according to Klaproth, *Tu-po* or *Tu-bo*. It seems not unlikely after all, that *Ti-bet* is nothing more than a modification of *Pot* or *Bot*, which according to Csoma Körösi is the native appellation of both the country and the people.—Geographical Description of Tibet, *J. A. Soc. Ben.*, April, 1832.

the finest quality. A sort of barley, resembling wheat, grows between Matayan and Diras: cotton also grows there. Beyond Diras wheat and barley both occur, but no cotton: the wheat is not reaped there till the end of December, but about Lé it is gathered in October; there is but one harvest in the year: very fine turnips are cultivated at Lé. Rice and jawar, and chenna are never sown. From Matayan to Lé the water is bad, and engenders asthma and goitre; the latter in Hindi is called *Gilher:* it does not seem prevalent, however, in the town of Lé; but shortness of breath, caused by the water, is very general. I was affected in this way very severely, in consequence of which I abstained from drinking the water, and drank tea only, when the complaint speedily left me. The water of the Sampo is good, and along the valley formed by its course, or on the heights bounding it, wherever the springs that supply the river arise, villages are met with. The people of Tibet eat chiefly *Talfan,* that is, *Setu,* (the meal of parched grain,) boiling it with meat, so as to form a thick kind of broth. Men of rank eat rice. They all wear a coarse cloth made of sheep's wool, and the poorer classes in the winter wrap themselves in the skin. They wear very high black caps, the top of which falls down and hangs over one ear; shoes of undressed hide, within which they sew woollen cloth, that comes up to the middle of the leg; their hair is plaited like that of women, and falls down in a braid behind; they shave the beard and preserve the mustachios; the lower part of the tunic is like that of the kabá, (it is straight and scanty,) whilst the upper part or vest is full (and folded); it is all in one piece. The jamà, or tunic is made of black or coloured woollen cloth (pattu)—the women wear turquoises, emeralds, and pearls in strings pendant from the top of the head to the edge of the tunic. The country yields but little profit, so much that owing to the scanty soil and crop, the poorer people have the revolting practice of one woman being married to several brothers, the children being all supported by the elder. This usage is contrary to the established religion. It is also allowable here for the eldest son, if he pleases, to exclude his own father from the possession of the property, and to cut off the other sons from any share. The revenue of Lé is five thousand Kharwars of Kashmir. The Kashmir Kharwar is equal to sixteen Tereks. The ruler has no claim to any part of the crops, but derives his income from a tax on the head of each house: he levies one or two rupees a year, according to the ground, but this is not determined by the begah or jerib, but the land is divided according to the water; that is, they calculate the proportion of water required daily

for a mill or half a mill, and then estimate the daily consumption of it in the irrigation of the land in that ratio.

The houses are of stone or unburnt brick; the beams are of poplar wood; the dwellings are of three or four stories, and Le contains a thousand such: the population consists of Tibetans and of Kashmirians: the Mohammedans are of both the Shia and Suni persuasions. Merchandise pays duty so much a horse load, and four rupees are charged on a load of shawl-wool, when exported to Kashmir; no duty is levied on it when imported into Tibet from other countries: a duty of four rupees is charged on every terek weight of Kashmir shawls, when exported to Yarkand; eight hundred horse loads of shawl-wool go annually hence to Kashmir, each horse load weighing about twenty-eight tereks. The wool is obtained from the hide of the goat, but is distinct from the hair: the original wool of Tús is yielded by a kind of deer. Tea also pays a small duty. Shawl-wool comes to Lé from Rodok and Cha-yin Thán: the former lies east by south from Lé, and is a dependency of it: Cha-yin Thán is the name of a district, the chief city of which is named Gerduk. It is fifteen stages east of Lé, and belongs to Lassa. Lassa is a celebrated city east of Lé two months' journey: the chief of it is the chief of the Lamas; his name is not known. He has been obliged within the last fifteen or twenty years to appeal to the power of Khatai, to protect him against the encroachments of the Gorkhas.

There is one mosque in Lé, to the Imam of which every load of merchandise pays one júd. (جود) It was founded by Ibrahim Khan, one of the nobles of the Mogul Court, at a time when the Kalmaks (قلماق) had got possession of the city, and the Raja of Tibet had recourse to the Sultan of Hindustan for succour. Ibrahim Khan, who was sent to his assistance, defeated the Kalmaks, and restored the Raja; who in consequence adopted the Mohammedan faith, and signed a treaty, acknowledging himself a vassal of the empire. He was honoured with the title of Raja Akabet Mahmud Khan. The Hakims of Kashmir still address the Raja of Tibet by that designation, but the Raja in a short time returned to his original faith; he continued to profess indeed a sort of subordination to the Governor of Kashmir, but paid tribute no longer. He coins the *júd* in the name of Mahmud Shah; twenty-four júds make one rupee. The Raja of Lé sends annually a contribution or charitable donation to the Guru Lama of Lassa. The Hakim of Kashmir takes care to be on good terms with the Raja of Tibet,

because the shawl-wool comes from thence, and if the intercourse were interrupted, the weavers of Kashmir would be out of employ, by which he would lose a duty of ten lakhs a year. If this were not in his way, the country might be easily overrun, as the people are a very spiritless race. I did not meet one individual armed during the whole of my stay, although they keep guns and other weapons in their houses. Murder and robbery, violence and bloodshed are unknown. When two Tibetans quarrel, the one who finds his anger becoming outrageous, chokes himself by filling his mouth with clay; or it is not unusual for either to bare his head, and present it to his opponent, exclaiming "Strike," because in fact whoever gives the first blow is subject to a fine of three rupees, or six rupees if blood be drawn. If one strike another with a sword, he is tied to a large stone, and dressings are applied to the wounded man at the expense of the aggressor, according to his circumstances. If the wounded man die, the murderer is thrown into the river, with a heavy stone tied round his waist. In short, they are a very mild race, disposed to offer injury to no one, and are free from religious intolerance. They marry their daughters to Mohammedans, and do not object to their adopting the faith of their husbands; if the women wish, they are at any time allowed to resume the faith of Tibet. Four or five hundred mounted men might plunder the whole country. The gunpowder made here is very famous. Mines of sulphur are found about three stages from Lé. Saltpetre is also produced by the soil; and excellent charcoal is abundantly prepared from a sort of timber that grows upon the mountains, the Persian name of which I am not acquainted with, and I had no opportunity of seeing the wood.

When a son is born to the Raja, the Raja abdicates, and the ministers govern in the name of the prince. There are three principal officers of government: one is called Kalun, who acts as deputy; the second is the Chaghgut, the treasurer or steward; the third is the Maghu, (مغگو) or commander of the troops[1]. At this time the Kalun is perfect master of the supreme authority, and the Raja takes no part in the affairs of state; the name of the Raja is Chhatendruj. Every person in this country makes one of his sons a Lama; that is to say, one who forsakes the world. *Lam* in Tibetan means "road or way," and Lameh he who shows the way. The females of this order bear the name Chuma, (چومہ) the meaning of which I do not know; neither the Lama nor Chuma

[1] Moorcroft calls this officer the Banka.

ever marries. The Lamas are the spiritual preceptors of the other classes of people. I cannot offer any account of the religion of the country, not understanding the language, nor meeting with any Lama of intelligence enough to explain it. I was also advised by Khaja Shah Nias[1] not to make any particular inquiries upon the subject, as my proceedings were regarded with some jealousy by the chief authorities. I could only, therefore, pick up such accounts as the Mohammedan residents of the place were able to give me. The national faith is called *Buddha*, acknowledging God and the prophets. The temples of their idols are not constructed for their religious worship, but for the preservation of the statues of their most eminent teachers and Lamas, the sight of which is proper[2]. Accordingly, when any Lama or person of that description dies, they carve his image upon the tomb in which his ashes, after the body is burnt, are buried. Some of the images are said to represent some prophet, who was a friend to their progenitors, and is still living. From this it appears, that the prophet is no other than Khajeh Khisr (Elias). Some say that these are images of a prophet who was taken up to heaven, and is still alive; and these are therefore representations of Hazret Isa (Jesus). They have books which they consider Scriptural, and which contain moral doctrines and religious prayer, and enjoin the constant practice of devotion, truth, and clemency. Thus they say, If any one take from you your cloak, give him your vest also; and if he strike you one blow, bid him strike another. The adoration of idols is prohibited. With exception of burning the dead, the usages of these people are very conformable to those of Christians. They hold the flesh of horses and camels to be unlawful food, but eat goats, sheep, and kine. It is also unlawful to espouse more than one wife. Their chief festivals are held when the sun is farthest off, as on the 25th of December; and their new year begins at the same period as that of the Christian era. When taking an oath, they invoke the *Kanja Sum*, that is to say, the Triple God; *Kanja*[3] meaning *God*, and *Sum* three,—and they say that God is one; that of the other two, one is his Prophet, and the other his Word; and that the union of the three in their form of oath, refers only to one God. There is like-

[1] See an account of this person in Moorcroft.

[2] So Rubruquis states that "the Tibet monks acknowledge the unity of the Deity; and on being reproached with the use of images, replied, that these by no means represented the Supreme Being, but only such of their deceased friends as they particularly respect."

[3] More correctly Kon-chok, the chief of rarity. See *Csoma. Tibetan Gram.* "Why God is called Kon-chok."—*App.* p. 165.

wise an obvious affinity between the Lamas of Tibet, and the monks of Christian countries; as for instance, some time before my arrival, there was a Lama who had never slept in his whole life. An old man told me, he recollected having heard that many loads of the Gospel had formerly arrived in Tibet, but that no one copy had reached them entire, in consequence of which the custom of burning the dead, and other unchristian practices, and the belief in the metempsychosis were suffered still to subsist. At Lassa, however, the chief seat of the religion, the dead are not burnt, but buried. They acknowledge also, that their religious books were originally in some foreign language, from which they were translated into the ancient dialect of Tibet[1]. Such of the originals as yet remain are no longer understood by any one. I was not able to procure a single page of these books. The people here have a printed as well as a written character. Their months have no separate appellations, but are distinguished as first, second, third, &c. The years are reckoned after the *Turk* manner, comprehending a cycle of twelve years, each being named after an animal, as the *Suchkan Il*, *Aud Il*, or the year of the mouse, the cow, &c. The language of Tibet has much in common with the dialects of Turkestan and Kashmir: it abounds with nasals like the latter, whilst in articulation and accent it resembles Turkish, the hard *kaf* and *ghain*, and *shin*, and the Persian *jim* often occur. The dogs of Tibet are twice as large as those of Hindustan; they have large heads and long coats, and are very strong and fierce, and are said to be a match for a lion. They are good watch dogs at night. The cow of this country has a bushy tail, which forms the *chowri* used in Hindustan; it is of low stature, but is strong and sure-footed, and is much used as a beast of burthen in mountainous and difficult roads. The crow (or raven) is large and black. I saw very few of the celebrated Tibet ponies; the breed is originally from *Zunskar*, a part of Tibet, ten or fifteen stages from Lé; the price varies from twenty to seventy rupees. They are very fleet,

[1] They were in Sanskrit or Prakrit, the religion of Tibet having been derived from the plains of Hindustan. Nestorian Monks, however, were very long scattered over the countries north of Tibet, and some vestiges of their presence seem to be visible in the notions and practices of the people. Rubruquis found a number of Nestorian Christians in the states of Mangu Khán, and Marco Polo encountered them in various places between Badakhshan and China. The Goa Church also maintained missionaries in Tibet several years; twelve were sent at one time under Horace de la Penna, besides Desideri, Andrada, and others at different periods. They all agree in the resemblance between the religion of the Lamas and Christianity.

and sure of foot, and cross the loftiest passes with ease; they feed them with hay, or, if they wish to make them fat, they give them the grass called *Rushkeh*, fresh if it be spring weather, but dry at other seasons. A horse eats one jûd of rushkeh a day. Instead of gram, they give the horses barley.

Chaughan is a favourite game in Tibet; it is played by two parties mounted, who attempt to strike the ball beyond two stones, and whoever does this nine times is victor[1].

The want of an astrolabe made it difficult to determine the position of Lé; but from such observations of the star *Jeddi*, called by the Arabs the *Kuteb*, or pole star, as I could take, I judge it to be situate 37° 40'[2].

I left Kashmir on the 16th September, 1812, and after being twenty-one days on the road, arrived at Lé on the 30th of October. The distance is not more than one hundred and twenty cos, yet the difficulties of the route make it laborious and tedious travelling. It would not otherwise be a journey of more than four or five days.

From Tibet to Yarkand[3].

I left Lé on the 26th of October, and set off for Yarkand. The first stage is Sabu[4], (سبو) five cos due east. A village dependant on Lé, five cos on the other side of the mountain, was the next halting-place, but without habitations.

[1] A particular account and drawing of this game as played in Tibet, are given by Vigne.—Vol. ii., p. 289.

[2] The latitude of Lé is now ascertained to be about 34° 10'.

[3] This part of Izzet Ullah's route is entirely new, as Marco Polo and the missionary Goez, who visited Yarkand, both went by a different route, or through Badakhshan. The other missionaries who penetrated to Lé, turned off thence to Lassa. It seems probable, indeed, that a Russian officer preceded our traveller; the circumstances under which this occurred are thus described in the 26th Number of the *Journal Asiatique*—"In 1774, a subaltern officer of the Neugorod regiment of infantry, named Yefremof, was carried off from his post by the Kirghizes, and conveyed into Bokhara. The Atalik appointed him inspector of his seraglio, and afterwards obliged him to render military service, in which he rose to the rank of Yuz bashi, or captain of cavalry. Yefremof accompanied the troops of the Atalik in different expeditions to Samarkand, Mawra, and Khiwa. From thence he escaped to Kokend, Kashgar, and Yarkand, and penetrating across Tibet, made his way to Calcutta, from which place he returned to Europe in an English frigate. In 1782, he arrived at Petersburgh, where he published a narrative of his adventures, with some description of the countries he had visited in his travels." Moorcroft and Vigne subsequently went part of the way, but only a few stages.

[4] Apparently this is what Vigne calls Ayu.

Diger[1], (دگر) eight cos, east by north, is a village belonging to Lé. The road is very precipitous and difficult; the first three hours were a continued ascent; the last was a declivity. The snow was above a cubit deep.

Ahkám[2], (اهکام) north by east, three cos, a village of twenty houses on the left bank of the river Shayuk, and dependent on Lé. The source of this river is at Karakúrúm, as will be hereafter noticed. It runs into the river of Lé, and therefore contributes to the Attok (or Indus). It runs south-west. The road, after the descent from Diger, runs along a level, and is nothing but sand and rock. Before descending, a road runs north to Nobra, a place of some importance. In the summer time the road to Yarkand is by Nobra, for the lower levels are rendered impassable by melting of the snows. The governor of Nobra is named Khaga Tanzin; he is the father-in-law of the Kalun of Lé.

Dakchudinga, (دقچودنگا) north-east, seven hours, is a station amongst the rocks, on the right bank of the Shayuk. The road ran along either bank of the river until it was interrupted by projecting blocks of stone, when it was necessary to ford the river, and proceed along the other side until similarly impeded in this manner. In the course of the march I crossed it five times, the water up to the horse's girth. At this time, the 31st of October, icicles formed on the horse's mane. There were few places on the route where grass and wood were procurable.

Chamchár, (چمچار) north-east, four hours, on the right bank of the Shayuk—four fords on the route, one of which was very dangerous. The road was very uneven and rugged. There was plenty of wood, but scanty forage.

Chong Jangal, (چونگ جنگل) north-west, nine hours. A stage on the right of the Shayuk. On the opposite side a small stream flows into the river, in the neighbourhood of which wood and forage were plentiful. We passed two fords near the station. On the left bank were three or four houses belonging to the Lamas, hence called Lama Kasht, or village. Beyond this place there is no habitation whatever. Chong, in the Turkish language, means much; Jangal has its usual sense of thicket[3].

[1] Jugur of Vigne. [2] Urkum of Vigne.

[3] The use of Turkish words throughout the rest of the Journal, marks the extent to which this race must have encroached upon Tibet.

Chong Uláng, (چونگ اُولانگ) north, four hours, a station on the right bank of the river, from whence the road runs between perpendicular mural precipices. The road itself is sandy and rocky.

Dong Ba-ilak, (دونگ بایلاق) north, nine hours, on the left bank of the river: the fords were numerous, not fewer than eleven. After six hours' travelling, we came on our left to a rock of marble, which extended for a gunshot, that terminated in a striped rock like Sulimani stone. There are several *toshguns*, or halting-places on the way, where fuel and grass may be obtained; one of these, two hours on this side of the station, is called *Kefter Khaneh*, or the pigeon-house, consisting of small excavations in the rock, like dove-cotes.

Mandalik, (مندلیک) north by east, ten hours, on the left hand of the river, abounding with fuel, but scanty of fodder. Here begins the *Esh*—this is a Turkish word, signifying Smell; but, as here used, it implies something, the odour of which induces indisposition; for from hence the breathing of horse and man, and especially of the former, becomes affected. The road is sandy and rocky, running along a valley; we had to ford the stream eight times: there are several halting-places on the way, at most of which fuel is plentiful, but fodder scarce. The range of rock ceases in a high pass before coming to the end of this stage; but rocks and mountains extend along the right bank.

Yartobe, (یارتوبی) north by east, five hours on the right bank.

Kotak lak, (کوتک لک) north, five hours. This is on one of the feeders of the Shayuk, which river here loses this appellation, and is called the *River of Khamdán*. Wood is plentiful here, but is burnt green. It is provided here for the next stage. The smell is very oppressive. Flints are found at this place, as well as small agates and blue Sulimani stones. The road continues in a valley between mountains, and is intersected by frequent torrents.

Chong Tash, (چونگ تاش) north by west, seven hours, is a village situated on a promontory of rock detached from the neighbouring mountain on the right bank of the river of Khamdan. After passing the last station a broad valley opened to the left, forming the commencement of a series of valleys leading to Khafalun. About half-way another opening occurs on the left, turning

towards the south, passing through which a mountain is crossed. They call that the road of Sisar; and in the summer, when the waters are swollen the road from Lé to Nobra proceeds over the high lands to this pass where it descends into the valley. The road to Nobra from Sisan is a journey of seven days, over the tops or along the skirts of the mountains[1].

Khamdán, (خمدان) west by north, nine hours, on the right of the river. On our left hand between the south and west[2] is a mountain of ice, which remains unmelted throughout the year. They say it is two hundred cos in extent, and on one side is Tibet Balti, and on the other Serkul[3], on the boundaries of Badakhshan. From Kashmir to Yarkand, by Balti, is a journey of twenty-five days, three of which are over this glacier, and it is therefore rarely travelled. There is said to be also a shorter road, avoiding the icy mountain, but the people of Tibet keep it a secret. Large blocks of ice, some of a spiral form, were lying about the station: perhaps the place derives its name from this, Kham, a spire or curl. They say that this ice shifts, for the people of the country observe, that a particular stone, which at one season is on the side, is after some time observable at the summit of the mountain. Moreover the water which bubbles at the lower part having become ice, pushes up and takes the place of the ice above it. In some places the colour of the glacier is white, in some it is of the colour of jasper (*jade*), in some like water, and others like the sky. Fuel was procurable, but fodder very scarce.

Yápchán, (یاپچان) west by north, ten hours—on both sides the

[1] So Vigne mentions that when the Shayuk is too full for wading, travellers from Ladakh to Yarkand enter the valley of the Nobra, and then turn up a path to the right and arrive at Karakurum after crossing three passes, two of which are called Brokuapal, (Izzet Ullah, Moorcroft, Brakuate,) and Sisur. Vigne entered the head of the Nobra valley.

[2] Both copies had *Mashrek*, the east; but this is clearly an error. Elphinstone notices this passage of Izzet Ullah's journal:—Izzet Ullah, he observes, does not describe the glacier of Khamdán as forming part of the range of mountains, but as a separate mountain of ice, seen on the left of the road two marches before reaching Kurrakorrum, and extending two hundred cos, from Tibet of Balti to Surrikkol.—*Note*, p. 112.

It is to be inferred that the glacier here met with, is in fact part of the Mustak range, extending across the country of the Dard tribes, north of Little Tibet, to Wakan, where even the latest maps leave a blank. See Map annexed to Vigne's *Travels in Kashmir.*

[3] The Sir-i-kol; the lake in the Pamir mountains from which the Oxus rises, in Lat. 37° 27′ N., Long. 73° 40′ E.—Wood.

river; the road was irregular, and the snow lay a foot and a half thick.

On the south of the pass of *Karakúrúm*, (قراقوروم) is a small station where stones have been piled up for shelter, which they call a bargih, at the southern foot of the mountain, at the distance of ten hours' march, the first part of which runs north-east, and the latter north-west. There are three small houses at the place, but neither fuel nor fodder; the water was also so unwholesome, producing short breathing, that it was necessary to melt the snow for a supply. The climate is exceedingly unhealthy, and particularly for persons living on a full diet. We had, therefore, prepared ourselves by living for three or four days before on boiled rice alone. Horses suffer exceedingly from the shortness of breath, especially, in proportion as they are large of body and well conditioned.

The source of the river Shayuk is on the south of Karakúrúm[1], on the north is that of the river of Yarkand. The country of Khoten lies at twelve days' journey to the north. Tibet Balti lies to the south-west. The road from Yapchan was sometimes over heights, sometimes over level land, with snow the whole way; in five or six places we had to cross over ice. The river which we had upon our left quitted us at about half the stage.

Northern face of Karakúrúm. A station of two or three houses without forage or fuel; the water was all frozen; the horses were knocked up with hunger and thirst, as usual. The snow lay very deep through the whole of the way; the air was very dry, and the labour and the cold affected many persons, and being weak from our previous abstinence, we suffered much from sickness of stomach and difficulty of breathing. The first half of the road was ascent, and the second half descent, and to mark the summit stones are piled, and sticks set up with the chowris of the cow-tail to them. Two large and black crows accompanied the caravan for several cos, the people of which threw them fragments. Flints of excellent quality are found here; they are found beneath the snow.

Sarigh-out, (سارگ اُت) north, seven hours: the road hither is rough and stony, and the place ill supplied, the water frozen. Several small villages occurred on the route.

[1] The Shayuk rises by two heads, one from the snows on the southern face of the Karakurum range; the other, from a lake in the same position a little more to the west, called Nobra Tsuh. See Vigne's Map.

Akták, (اق تاق) north-west, nine hours, a station on the right bank of a river. Ak, means white, and Ták, a mountain.

With exception of two or three people employed at the ferry the place was deserted. Henceforward the unwholesome air ceased, and forage, wood, and water, were plentiful.

Khafalun, (خفلون) north-west, ten hours, on the right bank of the river at the point of a mountain. The road ran along a valley abounding with stones and sand, and was intersected by the beds of torrents now frozen, but some of which were crossed with difficulty. Six hours' march from Aktâk was a station with wood and water, called Shah-i-áb; after leaving this a road was observed upon our right or to the north, leading over the mountains, by which in the summer time, when the waters are out, travellers proceed to a place called Kalian in Kokiar, a dependency of Yarkand. From the vicinity of this place there was a short road to Tibet Balti, by which in former times the Kalmaks and Kirghizes penetrated into that country. It is said that in order to stop these incursions, water was conducted into the defiles by some contrivance, and this being frozen, completely blocked up the passages. The road hither was level, but rough with stones and sand.

Taghneh, (تغنه) nine hours, north by west, on the right bank of the river; opposite to a mountain on the north of it. In this mountain several chasms were exposed by the fall of large blocks, which are said to be mines of copper, which the Kalmaks occasionally find. The word *Taghneh* also means in Tibetan a copper mine. The road was rugged, and strewed with stones and ice.

Igersáldi, (ايگرصالدي) west by north, seven hours, on a small stony flat between two mountains, on the right bank of the river.

Bagh-i-Haji Mohammed, north-west, nine hours, the road good; a station on the right of the river, abounding in fuel and fodder. On the road half way is a place called Kirghiz thicket, where are the remains of some of their ruined edifices, that tribe having been resident here before the country was subjected to China: being in the habit of plundering the Kafilas they were expelled. The Kirghizes are a Mongol tribe, speaking a Turkish dialect. Near Kirghiz thicket is a pass, by which a road runs in a north-easterly direction to the sepulchre of *Shahid Ullah Khajeh,* one day's march: one night's journey from hence is a mine of Yeshm. I encountered people who had come from *Kokiar* to procure the Yeshm stone. After passing *Kirghiz Jangal,* we came to a pass on our left, which leads to Sirikul, on the confines of Badakhshan.

Yártobi, (یارتوبی) west by north, two hours, on the right of the river: supplies plentiful, and the road good.

Yanghi Dawán, (ینغي دوان) or the new mountain: the first part of the route, as far as Kulán Oldi, lay to the west, the last nearly due north; the station is near the summit of the mountain, and furnishes little or no fuel or grass; the cold was excessive. After two hours travelling, we came to a place called Kulán Oldi, and there separated from the river of Yarkand, for that, here, runs to the west[1], to Chiragh-Sáldi, whilst we advanced to the north. We proceeded through a narrow and steep defile, down which a mountain torrent, now ice-bound, runs southward, and falls into the Yarkand river; the road was difficult, and the weather so severe, that two of the horses of Khaja Shah Nias dropped dead in the pass. There is another route by *Chiraghsáldi* mountain, but it is longer by two days' journey than this. The road to Yanghi Dawán has been known for sixty or seventy years.

Tezak Lak Payin, (تیزک لک پایین) north, nine hours. A station on the left, near the sources of a stream. Half an hour after leaving our former halting-place, we crossed a pass, and the road descended the rest of the way. In the middle of the valley, the branches of the rivulet were on both sides, but they were generally frozen. This stream, which rises from the north side of Yanghi Dawán, unites with that from Chiragh-Sáldi, and passes by Mizár, when it is called the river of Mizár, and flowing thence below Far-aulik, it unites with the river of Yarkand; before uniting with which it is called the river of Far-aulik. There were three stations on our route, one of which was called Tezak lak bala (or upper, the halting-place being called payin, or lower.)

Mizár, (مزار) north, eight hours. *Mizár* means a tomb, and here is the sepulture of some person of consequence, but of whom I could not learn: a few empty houses adjacent are appropriated to the accommodation of travellers. The land is capable of tillage.

[1] The maps, however, give it a continuous north-easterly direction. The latest and best maps of Central Asia, by Zimmerman, also place Chiragh Saldi on the east of the road: but Izzet Ullah's account is consistent, as he mentions under the station Mizar, that the road from Chiragh Saldi joins the valley on the left, that is, the west. The whole account of this part of the formation of the Yarkand river differs from the map last mentioned; for that identifies the Mizar stream with the Yarkand river; whilst, according to our traveller, the main stream, which had diverged to the west at Kulan Oldi, is not again met with until within three hours march of Yarkand.

The authority of Khatai (China) has lately been extended hither: from hence the Turkish language is chiefly spoken. Many individuals in the vicinity possess large flocks of sheep and horses. The road runs along an irregular and uneven valley, on either side of the river. The noxious wind again prevailed from Yanghi Dawán hither. Shortly before reaching the station, the road from Chiragh Sáldi entered the valley on our left, with a torrent running down it into the Mizar stream.

Chakilak, (چقلق) north, six hours, on the right of the Mizar river, which, however, crosses it frequently.

Khalástan, (خلاص تن) north, six hours: on the right bank of the river of Mizar, which here runs off to the west.

Ak Masjid, (اق مسجد) or *Ak Masi*, seven hours: the first half of the way is north; the latter half north-west. Although named from a mosque, there is no vestige of any such building. Forage and water were plentiful; ice was brought from a distance. The first part of the road lay through a valley, into which another opened from the east. In some places blocks of a white stone, like marble, were lying about: beyond this a mountain of earth was crossed, called Topa-dawán; the name signifies the earth or clay pass. We here left the stream from Khalástan.

Aurtang[1], (اورتنگ) west by north, nine hours, a custom-house station. They examine all packages here, and put a seal upon them. They then send a Chinese officer and two Mohammedans along with the travellers as far as Yarkand. There are sixteen Chinese here, the chief of whom is called Galaï-da. There are two or three Chinese accountants, and two or three Mohammedans, natives of Khatai, one of whom is equal in rank to the principal Chinese. Whenever a caravan arrives, the chief assigns them a place for their goods, and fixes a written paper, in lieu of a seal, upon those articles that are corded; the others he inspects, and takes out any bearing duty, which he puts up along with the merchandise. On the next day he allows them to proceed with the three individuals before mentioned, whose duty it is to see that the merchants alter none of the bales. The guides conduct the caravan to the custom-house at Yarkand, where they levy from the Kashmir trader one-fortieth of the value, and one-thirtieth from all others. If it is an article that sells by weight, they levy the duty in kind; if it is sold by tale, they

[1] The Oortung of Elphinstone's map. Here the roads from Lé and Badakhshan to Yarkand seem to meet.

value the article and take their proportion in coin; if the goods have been altered, a double duty is exacted. Before arriving at the *Aurtang*, there are three stations, at the distance of one cos each, tenanted by two custom-house officers, one a Chinese, one a Mohammedan. The latter is called *Tungali*. There are two or three hundred houses near the Aurtang; a river runs past it, called the river of Kokiar.

Kokiar, (كوكيار) north by west, one hour. This is a large village, containing above a thousand houses, and is under the charge of four Mohammedan officers on the part of the Chinese Government: one is styled the *Ming bashi*—two, *Yuz bashis*—and the fourth the *Alem akhond*. The mountains are visible everywhere in the distance.

Langer the third, west of north, one hour. *Langer* (لنگر) means *Post*, and a station of government horses is fixed here. Mounted couriers, on the part of the ruling powers, go from one of these stations to the next. There are usually three of these stations in a day's march. The second station at Beshtarek was seven hours. Next march there is a thicket. Between each station, at the distance of a march, more or less, three stones are placed in succession, separated by about a cos.

Tukayi, (توقايى) north, ten hours, a post station; a branch of the river of *Kerghalik* runs past it. *Kerghalik* itself occurs on the road after four hours' march, and is the name both of a district and of a considerable village; the whole of this route is cultivated and strewed with houses; there is a market in *Kerghalik* every Monday for horses, kine, asses, carpets, &c.; there is also a college, and a similar establishment of officers as at Kokiar. *Kerghalik* is so named from the multitude of crows that abound there, *Kergha* meaning a crow, and *lik* being the possessive or attributive affix. The river of *Khalástan*, which had left us at Topadawán, here returned to our route—gardens were numerous along our course, with willows, poplars, and apricot trees.

Chagachag, (چگا چگ) north, nine hours: a small village and post station.

YARKAND, (يارکند) four hours[1]. This is a well-known city, defended by a wall of unbaked clay; the houses are of the same material: the city has five gates—the western is called the Altún

[1] The Yarkian, Hiarchan, Gurkan, and Karkan of different European writers; when visited by Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, it was subject to the descendants of Jangiz Khan.

gate; the south, the Khankah, is the gate of the citadel, and another gate on the south side is called the Mikrar gate; the eastern is the Kiak al Kun; the northern is the Terek Bagh gate. The principal bazar extends east and west, and has many Chinese shops. A market is held every Friday. There are more than ten colleges, supported by endowments of land.

An hour after leaving the last station, we came upon the right bank of the river of Yarkand, and crossed it; this is the same stream which we quitted on our left at Kulan Oldi. A little beyond that there is a mine of Yeshm stones in the bed of the river[1]; the people, however, are not allowed to work it, and when the river is lowest, the government of Khatai sends divers to explore the river for these stones, and all that are found are the property of the government: the water of the river is run off into small water-courses, for the irrigation of all the land, and canals pass through the city. From the latter the water also is conveyed by narrow channels, and kept in reservoirs for the winter, as at that season the quantity is diminished, and all the lesser channels are blocked up with ice. Hollowed gourds are used instead of vessels, as cups, jars, hookas, &c. This perhaps accounts for the extensive prevalence of goitre here. The people of Yarkand are an industrious race, and mostly engaged in active occupations as shopkeepers and traders; few live by servitude. The duty paid on foreign merchandise imported has already been described; it is only once levied, and there are no duties on internal commerce. The Chinese officer that accompanies the caravans from the station as above described, brings the goods to where they are deposited in separate chambers in the custom-house at Yarkand. On the day following, the Chinese officer compares the articles with the tickets sent from the Aurtang, and then opens and examines the packages; articles sent as presents, and in no great quantity, are not taxed. The merchants usually divide their articles in such a manner that the number shall not reach thirty or forty; so that if one man has a hundred shawls, they are entered in the name of three or four others in the same caravan.

The women of this country are not concealed, whatever may be their rank. In the Hijri year 1050, or about two centuries back, Yarkand, Kashghar, Yengi Hissar, Aksu, Kuchar, and Turfan were under the dominion of Moghul Khans[2]—they subsequently

[1] The Yeshm is the Iu of the Chinese, to which many imaginary virtues are attached; it is a species of Jade. See *Remusat. Récherches sur la Pierre de IU.*

[2] This was in 1640. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Goez was there, Yarkand was the capital of Kashghar. It was afterwards taken

fell into the hands of the Kalmaks. The chief of the Kalmaks, entitled the Tura, resided at Ila[1], and a deputy on his part was sent to Yarkand. After some time an epidemic occurred amongst the Kalmaks, which carried off the Tura, his children, his chief men, and a vast number of people. The ruler of Yarkand was one of the Khajehs of Kara Taghlik, who were favoured by the Kalmaks. A hostile tribe, called Ak Taghlik, was held in subjection at Ila. But when they saw the state of weakness to which their masters were reduced, they collected and attacked the Kara Taghliks, and seized the country. An envoy now arrived from China, but the Khajehs seized and killed him; a body of troops was sent to punish this offence, and the Kara Taghliks, availing themselves of this opportunity to interest the court of Khatai in their quarrel, persuaded the emperor to send a second army for the effectual reduction of their opponents. The Khajehs of the Ak Taghlik behaved manfully, and repeatedly repulsed the Chinese; but being at last overpowered, were compelled to take refuge in Badakhshan. The prince of that country, Sultan Shah, however, put them to death, and sent their heads to the Chinese general. The present ruler of Badakhshan, Mir Mohammed Shah, is the son of Sultan Shah: the children of the Khajehs are now in Bokhara. It is about sixty years ago since these transactions took place, and the country fell under the authority of Khatai.

There is one chief on the part of the Mohammedans in Yarkand, and two on that of Khatai,—Mohammed Hosein, entitled Hakim Beg, is the former; the latter are Chinese, and are called Ambans. Levying of customs, the management of the police, and administration of criminal justice, the regulation of the troops, and the reception of ambassadors, belong to the Chinese: the Mohammedan chief is the judge in all civil disputes, and collects the capitation tax. There is no fixed and well-regulated court for these matters; but an Alem Akhond is appointed on the part of the Hakim Beg, to discharge the duties of chief Kazi (Kazi ul Kuzzat), and he is assisted by a Mufti and Kazi. If an oath is requisite in any cause, the Alem Akhond sends the person to the Kazi to be sworn. The Hakim is never changed except for some fault; but the Ambans are changed every three years.

The chief revenue is the Alban, a poll-tax, levied from every male

by the Uzbeks, and again captured from them by the Eleuths. In 1757, it was annexed by the armies of Kien Long to the empire of China, to which it still belongs.

[1] More usually called Ili.

above twelve years of age. It varies from five pul to fifteen tangas, according to the means of the parties. Students, mullas, travellers, and mendicants, are exempt from this impost. There are 40,000 individuals subject to it in Yarkand and its dependencies. The next person in rank to the Hakim Beg is the Alem Akhond. All disputes between merchants and traders are settled by a jury or Panchayet of the Báyán. A Bae is appointed by the Hakim for every class of merchants; he is also called Ak Sikál (or white beard.) The term Musafir, or traveller, is applied to every foreign trader, even although he be settled here, and have taken a wife and had children in the country.

A pul is equal to one pice; a tanga is equal to fifty pul, but is not a coin, there is nothing less than a pul. Silver passes in lumps, called yambo, about the weight of 160 rupees, and such a lump was current for 224 tangas[1].

The weights in use are the maund, or eight gherbils, a gherbil is equal to eight chárak; one chárak is two hundred sers, one ser seven miskals, and one miskal twenty-four nakhud or pease. Wheat is sold at the rate of a chárak and a half for a tanga. The cultivation is wheat, barley, rice, mung, and joar. They feed their horses with barley, and with barley-straw, in place of hay; they give also twists of Rishkeh, both green and dried, on which the animals fatten. A horse-market is held every Friday: all the Kirghiz horses are of small stature, and are geldings; the price varies from twenty to a hundred tangas; the utmost price is a yambo; they are in general fleet. The Chinese object to stallions, whence geldings only are brought to market; and, indeed, the people of the country prefer the latter as more docile and tractable. The bargut is a bird of prey, twice the size of a hawk, and with very powerful talons; when properly trained, it is used to chase deer. It catches them in this manner: alighting on the back of the animal, it there fastens one claw, the deer turning its head round to drive it off, the bird fixes the other talon in the animal's throat, and brings it to the ground. It is said of some of these birds, that if they miss the deer, they will fly at the hunter. One of the curiosities of this country is the stone called Yedeh, a stone taken from the head of the cow or horse, by the virtue of which rain or snow may be produced. I had no opportunity

[1] The standard is not mentioned, nor can we depend upon our traveller's valuation of the pul; admitting it, however, to be correct, silver is to copper about twelve per cent. higher than in Calcutta. The rate is probably not far from the truth. The lumps of silver are no doubt the ingots in which the Chinese Sycee silver is commonly current.

of observing the fact[1], but the truth was attested by very many persons. The individuals who employ the stone are numerous; they are called Yedejis. The stone is to be smeared with the blood of some animal, and then thrown into water: a charm is read at the same time, upon which a strong wind springs up, and then rain and snow ensue. The virtues of the stone are confined to cold countries, and it would therefore be unavailing to transport it to the sandy districts of Hindustan, as Hariana and Bikaner. The truth of the story is known to God alone.

The dignities which the Chinese authorities confer upon the Mohammedans are two—the first is called Wang, the second Baiseh; the first wears a peacock's feather, with three eyes, in his cap, and an ornament called Jug-nu; the latter is round, of the size of a pigeon's egg: it is of seven kinds—the first worn by the two orders is made of rubies, the second of coral is worn by the Hakim, the third of lapis lazuli, the fourth of blue glass, the fifth of white glass, the sixth of white stone, and the seventh of silver: the last five sorts are worn by Mirs, according to the scale of their respective ranks[2]. There are forty or fifty Mirs in every city under the orders of the Hakim. The Mirs receive land, or salary, or allowances, according to their degree, from the Chinese government. The sovereign of Khatai is called Khan, and his capital Pehin[3]. The chief force of the Chinese is infantry, armed with matchlocks and bows and arrows.

From Yarkand to Kashghar.

The custom station or Aurteng of Karawul Jásh, (قراوول جاش) sixteen yols[4]. (يول) Half way to Kokrebat (كوكريباط) we passed

[1] This is a very ingenuous confession, and calculated to give a favourable notion of our traveller's veracity, in spite of a little tincture of credulity.

[2] According to Morrison, under the word "rank," the balls or buttons are nine:—One, of a red stone; two, of coral; three, of carved coral; four, of a blue stone; five, of an opaque blue stone; six, of crystal; seven, of a dull white stone; eight, of gold; nine of silver.

[3] Both copies of the Journal write this Pehin, the Tartar pronunciation, no doubt, of Pekin.

[4] This term, now first introduced, is subsequently thus explained. Yol is a Turkish word, signifying originally road or way, but it has now come to designate a certain distance. One yol is said by some to contain 360 fawalik, and one fawalik is equal to two Gez (or cubits) of Shahjehanabad: others say that a yol contains only 360 cubits, two of which in like manner make a fawalik: 70 or 80 yols form a moderately long stage. The latter rate seems the most likely to be correct, as then a mile will be equal to about two and a half yols, and about thirty miles will form a stage, not often although sometimes exceeded.

a number of stations, called Keshlaks; but from thence to the custom-house none occurred, except the remains of a mansion built by Abdullah Khan. The winter dwellings of the people of the country, who during the summer months reside in tents, were originally called by the name of Keshlak, and it has thence come to signify any village. At this station the passports of those going from Yarkand to Kashghar are examined and countersigned.

The Aurteng of Chemlun, forty yols. A good road: the passports are here again examined.

Aurteng of Tussaluh, fifty yols, another custom-house station: several villages on the road.

Yengi Hissar: this is a city under the Chinese government; two Chinese officers and one Mohammedan preside over it; the name of the latter was Hakim Mahmud Beg; he is a kinsman of the Hakem of Kashghar.

Paichánd, a village and custom-house station, ninety yols.

Kashghar, (كاشغر) ninety yols. A well known city, where I arrived on the second day of the Moharram, in the year 1813. We alighted at the house of Samijon, a Tashkend merchant, to whom we brought letters. The wife of the Hakim sent me a dressed skin, and a Jama of Khatai. The Hakim of Kashghar was named Yunas Beg; he had left the city to pay his respects to the Khan of Khatai on the second Shaban, and settle the rate of tribute. Kashghar pays six thousand tangas a month.

Mullah Nazr of Kashghar had accompanied Sekander Beg, the wang of the ruler of Kashghar, twice to Pehin, and had kept a register of the stages of his route. He allowed me to take a copy of his journal, and added orally such observations as he recollected. The following account is derived from his information:—

Route from Pekin to Kashghar.

[The account which Izzet Ullah received from his friend, presents little more than a list of names and distances, but with respect to the former, at least, its accuracy is unquestionable, as many of them are identifiable in D'Anville's Atlas, due allowance being made for the peculiarities of French and Persian spelling. They also occur with additions on a MS. Chinese map on a large scale in the East India Company's Library. The coincidences with the Atlas as formerly pointed out are reprinted; and I have added one or two more from the map, with the assistance of Mr. Hutteman, distinguishing them from the few notices of the original, by inclosing

them in a parenthesis. It may be remarked that the same identification is not practicable in that portion of the route which lies west of China; few names, except those of the large towns, being traceable; in truth, however, the minor stages are mostly of a temporary nature, varying at different periods, unlike those of China, which are permanent villages and towns.]

Pehin, پكين is the capital of China, which is also called Machin, and the residence of the sovereign, whose title is Khan, and who belongs to the nation of the Manchus. The present monarch is named Cha Chatek; he has been eighteen years on the throne. His father Cha Tun reigned about ten years. His predecessor Ai Zin Khan was the emperor who wrested Kashghar and other places from the power of the Khajehs.

		Yols.	
Langsang,	لنگسنگ	50	(The Leam heam hien of the map.) A village. The road is stony and crosses a large river by a bridge; the river runs from a northerly to a southerly course: (the river is the Hoen ho.)
Jo jo,	جوجو	70	(Tso cheou, Do.)
Be kha,	بيخا	—	(Pe keou ho, Do.) A river on the road crossed by a bridge (the Cha ho river.)
Anshowi,	انشوي	70	(Yomtchien hie, Do.)
Bu din fu,	بودينغو	50	(Pao ting fou, Do.)
Jing tengi,	جنگ‌تنگي	45	
Wang do shen,	وانگ‌دوشن	45	
Ding ju,	دنگجو	60	(Ting tcheou, Do.)
Shin lo shen,	شينلوشن	50	(Sing lo hien, Do.)
Fu jin gi,	فوجنگی	45	
Jig zing fu,	جگذنگفو	45	(Tching ting fou, Do.)
Khoai lo shen,	خواي‌لوشن	60	Road mountainous.
Jing sing shen,	جنگ‌سنگشن	70	
Kau lo wi,	كن لوي	40	
Ba jangi-i,	بجنگيي	40	

		Yols.	
Fing ding ju,	فنگدنگجو	50	
Zer i shi,	زريشی	50	The road crosses a mountain pass.
Shéo yung shen	شيو ينگشن	50	(Cheou yang Shen, of D'Anville, in the province of Shansi. It is singular that the great wall, which, according to the map, should have been passed in this part of the journey, is not here adverted to.)
Tang ga li,	تنگگالي	50	
Wang khu,	وانگخو	70	
Shan gu shen,	شنگوشن	70	Knives, scissors, and chakmaks are manufactured here.
Ji shen,	جيشن	60	
Fang yu,	فنگيو	50	
Jai shu shen,	جيشوشن	80	
Ling shi,	لنگشي	80	(Ling che hien.) The road runs through a valley, in which is a stream, crossed by a bridge.
Rin gi,	رنگی	40	
Khu ju,	خوجو	60	(Tcho-tcheou.) The road runs over hills.
Ju jing,	جوجنگ	50	(Tchao-tching.) Several streams cross the road.
Khun dang shen,	خندنگشن	35	
Fing yang fu,	فنگينگفو	60	(Pin yang fou.)
Seng i,	سينگی	60	(Tsi chan.)
Khu ma,	خوما	70	
Wang shi,	ونگشی	80	
Be sheng,	بيشنگ	80	(Van suien.)
Fin jou ye ling jing,	فنجو بي لنگجنگ	70	
Yeng je shen,	ينگجيشن	70	
Sa fu di,	سفودي	70	Tea is brought here from

		Yols.	
			Changnan (Chantong) and Khunan (Honan); but the best kind, or Kokchai, is sold at Pehin.
Tung gan,	تنگگن	70	A city on the right bank of a large river running north and south; it is deep enough for vessels. (This is the Hoangho, or yellow river: the city is probably Tongquan, seated at the confluence of the Hoeiho and yellow river.)
Ju-ai mu,	جوايمو	40	(Hoa-in) a very large temple is situated here.
Khoa jo,	خواجو	50	(Hoacheou.)
Wai tan shen,	واي‌تنشن	50	
Lingtong,	لنگ‌تنگ	80	Near this city is a mountain with warm springs, said to be very beneficial in cutaneous disorders. Sulphur is also brought from the mountain. "Ling" in Chinese means cold, and "tong" copper. (This is no doubt Lin tong hien.)
Shing an fu,	شنگ‌انفو	50	(This is Sin gan fou, the capital of the province of Shensi. It is described in the Journal as a large city with many Mohammedans settled in it; they are called Tungani, it is added, from their having first settled in Tungan (Ton quin?) in like manner as in Hindustan, they are called Turks. The course of our traveller here changes from west by south to due west, and presently to north-west.)
Sheng shen,	شينگ‌شن	50	Another large city on the left bank of the river; boats of two or three hundred mans burden ply on the river. (Perhaps Tcheou-tcheheu.)

		Yols.	
Le sun,	ليسون	70	
Chan chou,	چنچو	40	
Yang shu,	ينگ شو	90	
Weng ju,	ونگجو	70	(Long tcheou.)
Jan ga u,	جانگاو	80	
Wa yi za,	وائی زا	45	
Chen ju,	چين جو	55	
Be shu wi,	بيشوي	70	
Fing lang fu,	فنگ لنگفو	70	A city (Pin-leang-fou.)
Wa-teng,	واتنگ	70	The road runs between mountains from east to west.
Lung de shen,	لونگديشن	50	Road in a valley between mountains and over a pass.
Jing ning ju,	جنگ ننگجو	90	(Tsin-ning tcheou.)
Jang ja yi,	جنگ جاي	90	
Ju-ning shen,	جوننگشن	90	
Shi gang yi,	شيگنگي	60	(Si cong i.)
An dang shen,	اندنگشن	60	(Ngang ting.)
Jing ko wi,	جنگ کوی	60	
Jing sho i,	جنگ شوی	70	
Jo zo yi,	جوزويي	60	
Lan ju,	لانجو	50	A city on the right of a river running from east to west, and crossed by a bridge of boats. (The city is no doubt Lam tcheou, on the Hoangho, but the course of the river must in that case be erroneously described.)
Sha jin yi,	شاجن يي	50	
Ko sho yi,	کوشوی	70	(Cochoui). Road amongst mountains and over a pass.
Khun jing za,	خونجنگزا	50	
Cho ang lang,	چوانگ لانگ	70	A city: (Tchoing lang ing.)

		Yols.	
			Many windmills; musk of a good quality is procurable here.
Ao shin yi,	اوشين‌يي	30	
Cha ko i,	چاكوي	—	
Jing chang li,	جنگچانگ‌لي	50	
Khong,	خشونگ	60	
Go lang shen,	گولانگشن	30	
Jing shen li,	جنگ‌شن‌لي	60	
Da khi ya,	داخيه	40	(Ta-ho-y on the map.)
Lan jo,	لانگجو	30	(The city of Leangtcheou.)
Do lang,	دولانگ	50	
Sha kha,	شاخه	40	
Yong chang,	يونگ‌چانگ	70	(Yong tchang oei.)
Shawi chutra,	شويچوترا	70	
Sha ku wa,	شاكوا	50	
Shing ni,	شنگني	40	
Shan dan,	شندن	40	
Dun lu,	دنلو	40	
Ko chin za,	كوچين‌زا	30	
Kan ju,	كن‌جو	40	(A large city; the city of Kan cheou.)
Sha jing yi,	شاجنگي	50	
Ku yi,	قويي	40	
Go ti,	گوتي	40	
Khachu dán,	خچوادن	50	
Shang pu,	شنگپو	50	
Yan chi,	ينچي	30	
Fin jing za,	فنجنگزا	40	
Lang shu yi,	لنگشوي	60	
Su ju,	سوجو	40	A large city, the first belonging to China proper, on the road from Kashghar. (A circumstance that identifies it with Sou tcheou.)

		Yols.	
Jai gu ouden,	جايگواودن	70	A village near one of the gates of the great wall of China. (This confirms the preceding, Soutcheou being a short distance within the wall. It may be observed, that the route is singularly circuitous.)
Khoi khoi fou,	خوبخويغو	90	(Hui-hui-phu.) This and most of the following are *Aurtengs*, custom-house stations or guard-houses; it is said that the tomb of Saâd wakas is here.
Sha li,	شالي	110	
Dartu,	دارتو	90	
Senda gu,	سنداگو	30	
Ku lun ji,	قولونجي	90	
Shu kan,	شوكن	90	
An si,	انسي	70	
Be dung za,	بيدونگزا	90	A custom-house. The country about this is a wilderness.
Khanluyunza,	خنلويونزا	80	A custom-house.
Wa chan za,	واچنزا	80	Ditto.
Ma ling jing za,	مالنگجنگزا	70	Ditto. The hills are low.
Shang shang sha,	شنگشنگشا	80	Ditto.
Sha jan za,	شاجنزا	90	Ditto.
Ko shoi,	كوشوي	80	Ditto.
Chang sho i,	چانگشوي	70	Ditto.
Gazeh fi zang,	گزهفي ذنگ	140	Ditto.
Kha lungan,	خالونگن	80	Ditto.
Kamul,	قمول	70	A city: the language is Turk. This city was subject to China before the conquest of Yarkand. N.B. It should be Hami, called also Khami and Khamil.

		Yols.	
Sumakyaghu,	سوماقيغو	70	(Sumakarhu on MS. map.)
Tughachi,	توغاچي	70	
Yazachawan,	يازاچوان	80	A custom-house: road level.
Lo dong,	لودونگ	90	Custom-house.
Autunguza,	اوتونگوزا	140	Ditto.
Outera germa,	اوتراگرما	90	Ditto.
Kush,	قوش	140	Ditto.
Ku shu i,	كوشوي	70	Ditto.
Chiktam,	چقتم	90	Ditto.
Fijan,	فجان	90	Ditto, in the desert of Turfan.
Lamchin,	لمچين	70	A village dependant on Turfan, with a running stream, the road rough. (Lamtchin of the map.)
Sangam,	سنگم	90	
Turfan,	طرفان	90	A ancient city, the present residence of the Chinese Governor with a Mohammedan Hakim; the old city of Turfán is in ruins; its site is fifty yols from the present. It is called also the city of Dakianus, the sleepers of Kaf having occupied a cave about twenty yols on the south of the old city. (This piece of information is more curious than true. Turfan is well known.)
Yu ghan,	يوغان	70	A Custom-house.
Tu-kun,	توقون	60	Ditto, and village. (Takun pass, MS. map.)
Su-ba-shi,	سوباشي	90	Ditto, between mountains.
Aigher-bulak,	ايغربولاق	60	(Bulak or Pulak is a well,) a custom station.

		Yols.	
Kamush-Akma,	كموش اقما	120	Ditto, amongst mountains.
Keraf sin,	قرافسين	90	Ditto.
Aushak tal,	اوشاق تال	150	(The Outchactal of the map.)
Tabalghu,	تابلغو	90	(Tarbatchi.)
Kara sheher,	قراشهر	90	A large city of the Kalmaks, on the left of a navigable river running from east to west. An Amban on the part of China rules over the city; and a Hakim presides over the Kalmaks, they call the latter Ji-shan. (This name is, no doubt, traceable in the Harachar of the map; the form of it as here given is most correct, for it means something, 'The black city.' Harachar it would be difficult to expound. The direction of the river is as usual wrong, for it runs from north-west to south-east. There is, however, a great disagreement between D'Anville's map and the original map before alluded to, the latter making the Harachar river totally distinct from the river of Yarband, and formed of two streams called the Chultos and Haptísihai, which not far from the city fall into the Bosthu Lake, a lake much larger than Lop Nor, some way due north from the latter.)
Bash ir gam,	باش ايرگم	90	A custom station—the river is on the left of travellers going from China to Kashghar, and runs to the south.

		Yols.	
Korla,	كورلا	40	The road mountainous, but not difficult.
Kara su,	قراسو	70	A custom station.
Chir chi,	چرچي	140	Ditto, dependant on a place called Bugar.
Chider,	چدر	160	
Yangi hisar,	يڭگي حصار	60	A village. The road runs through a forest of trees, used as fuel, called Tograk. N.B. Yanghizar of the map.
Kamush tureh	قموش تورة	110	A village of about 500 houses dependant on Bugar.
Ayad,	اياد	80	A village.
Bekeb,	بقة	140	Ditto.
Ku cha,	كوچا	80	A city on the left bank of a river, running south; crossed by ferry. (Coucha of the map.)
Kizil,	قزل	160	(Catsal. Do.)
Siram,	سيرام	40	A city. A stream crosses the road, running south, crossed by ferry.
Ba i,	باي	80	A city on the right bank of a river.
Aun bash,	اون باش	60	A custom-house; a fordable stream crosses the road.
Ak erik.	اق اريق	70	A custom station.
Kara yulghen,	قرايولغن	40	Ditto.
Jam,	جام	40	Ditto. A few houses of cultivators.
Aksu,	اقسو	70	A celebrated city, under the usual joint administration. On the road is the small stream of Ila, which gives its name to a city formerly the capital of the Kalmaks; it is fifteen days from Aksu, west by north. Ila is now the principal military station of

Yols.

the Chinese, being occupied by the commander-in-chief, styled Jung-ju, (Dschangiun or Tsiang kiun), with a force of 100,000 horse. Sixty days north from Ila is Yelduz, the actual residence of the chief of the Kalmaks: a range of mountains extends to the north of Yelduz beyond which the country is unpeopled. On the west of Ila is a large piece of water called Azashk kol, which is the limit of the Chinese power in that direction. The Kazzáks occupy the country between Ila and the Russian frontier, which they thus separate from the Chinese. Ila is properly the name of the river on the borders of which stood the city, thence so called, and which is now deserted. There is the grave of Tughluk Timur, the first of the Chaghatai Sultans who adopted Mohammedanism. At present the appellation of Ila is applied to two cities, one called also Gulja, occupied chiefly by Mohammedans; the other Kurah, where the Chinese troops are stationed, and which is the residence of the Chinese Governor-General of Moghulistan and of the Kalmaks. These two cities are one march apart. At a place south of Ila they find a kind of stone which they use for fuel (coals) instead of wood; it is of two kinds, one of which emits a fragrant, the other an offensive smoke. The same substance

		Yols.	
			is found one march from Aksu, in a mountain; but it is not burned. (Ili or Gulja was visited by M. Poustemtev, in the Russian service, in 1811, and his description of it is published in the second number of Klaproth's *Magasin Asiatique*. The Chinese forces stationed there are much exaggerated in the text, being under 4000 Manchu troops, with 28,000 local militia. M. Poustemtev does not mention the use of coal.
Kubu,	قوبو	80	Custom station: a large river running to the south.
Yengi arik,	ينگي اريق	70	A village.
Wuchut,	ووچوت	170	A station.
Yazendu,	يزندو	70	A station: much wood of Toghrak trees.
Autuz kimeh,	اوتوز كيمه	56	A custom station dependant on Yarkand: Toghrak trees and reeds.
Kingrak,	قنگراق	30	Ditto.
Kokchul,	كوكچول	100	Ditto.
Yarchuk,	يارچوق	100	
Kashkopardak,	قوشكوپردك	60	
Marli ash,	مارليباش	50	
Shakur,	شاقور	50	A halting-place, not inhabited, on the right bank of the Kashghar river.
Ak chakal,	اق چقل	150	This and the two next are mere halting-places, uninhabited.
Pimash,	پيمش	60	
Tuktalghen,	توختالغن	60	
Yangi abad,	يانگي اباد	90	A post station dependency of Kashghar

		Yols.	
Fyzabad,	فيض‌اباد	50	A large village 1000 houses.
Kimayiuy,	كيمايويي	50	Halting-place and ferry over the river of Kashghar.
Abad,	اباد	70	A village dependant on Yarkand.
Kashghar,	كاشغر	70	A celebrated city, in latitude something above 40 degrees. Khoten is the name of a neighbouring country, the surface of which is chiefly sand and desert. It abounds with wild asses, camels, wild cattle, and musk deer; the camels have two dorsal humps, and are of great speed. Khoten has six cities besides, the chief of which is called Aichi, (ايچي) and is governed by a Chinese and Mohammedan. One stage south from thence is Karakash: three stages north Yurungkash: and the same distance east is Tagh: three days further east is Kiriya: north-east from Tagh, four days, is Chira, and three days, north-west, is Nia Kashlak.

From Yarkand to Aichi is eight days' journey, the whole through a desert. Yarkand bears from Aichi westward, inclining to north: the names of the stages are as follows:—

Postkám,	پوستكام
Luhuk,	لوهوق
Chulak,	چولاق
Gamah,	گماه
Muji,	موجي
Pialma,	پيالما
Zerwa,	زروا
Aichi,	ايچي

[A list of stations from Kashghar to Khoten, as derived from the Chinese authorities, is published by Klaproth; that route makes the distance six stages instead of seven, and the three first only agree: they are written by him, Yerkeang, Po-tzu-tsiam, Lo-kho-terianger, Go-matai, Gung-delik, Bian-urman, Khotian.]

From Kashghar to Kokan.

Kashghar is pronounced by the people in general Káshkár. (قاشقار) It is defended by a mud wall, with four gates. A market is held every Friday in the city, except that for horses, which takes place without the wall. A great number of horses are brought here for sale, chiefly by the Kirghizes and Kazzaks; they are all geldings, stallions are very rare: the former are sold at from twenty tangas to one yambu. Mules are preferred by the Chinese, who are said to cross the breeds of horses and kine; but I saw none of the breed.

The residence of the Chinese governor, and most of the Chinese, is without the city, in a separate suburb, termed Gul-bagh. There are more Chinese troops in Kashghar than in Yarkand, there being about one or two thousand in the latter, whilst five or six thousand are stationed in the former.

Kichek Indejan, (کچك اندجان) west by north, five hours, a station on the bank of the river of Kashghar: no inhabitants

Kona Karavel, (کونه قراول) west by north, six hours.

Aurteng, or custom station, west by north, three hours. A few houses are in the city. The passport for leave to quit the country is here examined. There is great difficulty in procuring this document; and it is obtained by furnishing sureties to the Hakim of the city, through the intermediation of the board of merchants described in speaking of Yarkand: this, with the addition of his own signature, the Hakim delivers to the Amban. The sureties make assertion, that the traveller is a merchant going on business, and free from all claims; and they engage to be responsible, if any cause should be hereafter shown, why he ought not to have been suffered to depart. On this a paper in the Chinese language is granted, which is produced at this station. There are no houses beyond this.

Kinchaghlak, (قنچغلك) west, four hours, a deserted station on the skirts of a mountain; mountainous ranges extend on either hand, but at some distance.

Kizel-ouli, (كزل اولي) west, eight hours, a single house, with Kirghiz tents near it: the first part of the road is mountainous, the latter level. The cold was extreme, and water frozen. The felt tents of the Kirghizes lay on both sides of the whole of the road.

Shorbulak Kurghasham, (شوربولاق قورغشم) west by north, three hours. Lead is found here, and exported by the Kirghizes. Shor means salt; Bulak, a spring, and Kurghasham is lead.

Shorbulak Malachap, (شوربولاق ملاچپ) west, four hours.

Oksalur, (اوق سالور) west by north seven hours; road undulating, fodder and water abundant. Ok means an arrow, and Salur, caster.

Dawan-mizar, (دوان مزار) west by north, two hours; the road leads over a steep pass; on the summit are the tombs of the Kirghizes.

Shorbulak Yessa-kichak, (شوربولاق يساكيچك) west by north, five hours: fuel, fodder, and water abundant.

Yessa Kichak, (يساكيچك) west, four hours—a ford here of the river, which runs to Kashghar. Yessa means level, and Kichak a ford.

Ser Kamush, (سرقموش) west, four hours, a station.

Simirjatun, (سيميرجاتون) a halting-place.

Koh Kaf, (كوه قاف) is the name of a place about half a cos from the road on the right hand. (In Zimmerman's map this name is repeated; one Koh kaf occurs after Dawan Mizar; the other, which more nearly corresponds with that of this stage, is placed beyond Yanghin.)

Ford of the river of Kashghar.

Nakára chádi, (نقارا چادى) on the bank of the river, there are vestiges of buildings on a hill. They say this was the place where the royal drums of Afrasiab were stationed.

Yanghin, (ينغين) west, nine hours; tents of the Kirghizes: road runs along a valley abounding with verdure.

Tukai Bashi, (توقاي باشي) north-west, seven hours: in a valley with a running stream: wood is collected here and carried on to Dawan Tirak; much snow began.

A halting-place, west by north, five hours. I lost my way on this stage; being unable to distinguish anything through the heavy fall of snow, and at last unable to proceed, I took shelter under the side of a mountain: the water was everywhere frozen.

Dahána dawan Igizek, (دهانه دوان اکیزک) four hours. The first part of the road ran west, the last south. Igizek means twins, two mountains of similar appearance being here near together; the valley, or mouth (dahána) between them is quite barren. (Zimmerman has placed this stage after Tukai Bashi.)

A station west by north, eight hours. One of the mountains called twins is crossed on this stage, an ascent of an hour and a half.

Koksu, (کوکسو) west, four hours. The source of the river of Kashghar is at this place: the road is uneven and mountainous. The second of the twins was crossed on the way, and the elevation was the same as that of the first. We crossed the river upon ice. A mountain still higher than the twins lay upon the right of Koksu.

Darwaza Dawan Tirek, (دروازه دوان تیرک) west by south, three hours. After descending the mountain of Koksu, the road leads through a narrow valley shut in by lofty mountains (hence the term darwáza, door or defile.) A stream passes along the middle of the valley, which, uniting with others, flows into the river Sir, (سیر) not far from Indejan.

The skirts of the mountain Tirek, north by west, three hours.

Archilak, (ارچلك) north by west, ten hours; a place in a valley, abounding in fuel and Archah trees. The ascent of the mountain took up two hours, but it required eight to descend. From this mountain a road runs south to Sir-i-kol, which is three or four days' journey; but in the warm weather the state of the torrents renders it impracticable. It is necessary to make a detour to avoid the mountainous pass of Tezek. Although the snow had begun at Kinchaghlek, yet it was only from the "Twins" that it had become heavy, being now of the depth of a man's stature, or in some places of twice that depth. The Kirghizes tread the snow down so as to make it hard, and then the caravans pass; a certain number of Kirghizes are appointed to this duty, who take up their station here on the setting in of winter.

Yamán kiz, (یمان قز) nine hours: first half, north by west; second, west. This is the name of a tribe of Kirghiz who are first here met with; the road runs along a valley between two mountains, with a stream in the middle. Half-way we passed a valley on the right, in which were the tents of the Kirghizes.

A Stage, west, five hours. The road continuing along the valley. Kirghiz tents, and wood and water abundant.

A Stage, west, two hours. Tents of the Kirghizes; supplies plentiful.

Mizar Gumbuz, (مزارگنبز) west by north, eight hours. A building with a cupola and Kirghiz tombs; their tents were also pitched near the building; supplies plentiful; the road, though undulating, was less rugged; flints were found on the path.

Gulshen, (گلشن) west, five hours. A plain amongst the mountains with fruit trees, as the jujube and pomegranate; there are also other trees in abundance, and running water. A little beyond this the stream, which had accompanied the road from Archilak, separated from it, and flowing on the left of the road, continued its course towards the Sir.

The skirts of the mountain Chugur chuk, (دامن دوان چوغور چوق) four hours: first half, west by south; last half, south. Tents of the Kirghiz; the river running north, a stony valley, and supplies scanty.

Below a hill, Zer tappa, (زیر تپه) west, nine hours. The name of the place I could not learn. Kirghiz tents, and a spring on the hill. There was much snow on the road along the mountain Chugur chuk. It was an ascent for about three hours, a descent for the remainder. The snow was heavy on the descent, and several horses of the caravan perished, amongst which was mine.

Langar, a station, west, four hours. No habitation, supplies scanty, but a stream of water; the road level.

A stage, west by north, five hours. No habitations, but forage and fuel.

Aslaye, west by north, three hours. There was a lake and trees surrounding it; near it was the encampment of the Yodas, a tribe of Kirghiz, the road was level, and henceforward the hills began to disappear.

Osh (اوش) west, five hours. This is the first town in Ferghana: it is of considerable population, and is well supplied with water. It is governed by a Hakim, nominated by the Amir of Kokan: the road leading to it is level and good, and the Kirghizes, whose tents occur, are dependent upon this government. From Kashghar to Kurghasham they are dependant on the former place; that is, they carry their fuel, charcoal, and other things, to Kashghar for sale. They are privileged to have free transit, and require no passport, but come and go at pleasure: they are subject to China. Those from Kurghasham to Osh are the subjects of the Amir of Kokan: they possess

extensive herds of cattle and horses. In the time of Narbuta Be they obstructed the road, but they were compelled by (his son) Alem Khan to leave it free to travellers. Osh is celebrated by the name of Takhti Suliman, and the tomb of Asef Barkhia, the vizir of Suliman, is still shown here: it is of great size. The throne of Suliman is on a small hill west from Osh, surmounted by a building with a dome. In the spring great numbers of people repair hither in pilgrimage to the tomb from all the surrounding countries, bringing with them articles of various descriptions for sale and barter. A bazaar is held in Osh every Tuesday. In the warm season the place swarms with mosquitoes, and the people construct a tall frame of four long posts in the centre of their houses, and sleep on the top of it. Nimangan is the name of a city two stages from Osh, west north-west, the fruit of which is very famous. Andejan, the former capital of the kings of Ferghana, now deserted, lies three stages west by north of Osh, and is one stage west of Nimangan[1]. The father of Baber, the emperor of India, Omer Sheikh Mirza, resided in Andejan.

Ardaneh, (اردانه) eight hours, west by north. A large station, the residence of a tribe of Badakhshanis: it is famous for its gardens. The road runs between hills, but is good, as the mountains do not approach very close. On the way there are many Tartar stations and places where droves of horses are pastured. Wheeled carriages are employed from Osh to the other cities of Ferghana.

Ming tappa, (منگ تپه) three hours, west. A large station: the adjacent country is divided into the pasture grounds of the Turks and Kapchaks, whose flocks are allowed to graze at will during the spring and summer months. These two tribes amount here to 10,000 or 12,000 families: they are a strong good-looking people, apparently in a prosperous condition, well dressed, and of military bearing, and present a striking contrast to the Kirghizes, who are a mean-looking race, ill-fed, housed, and clothed, and furnishing few soldiers.

Lulikhaneh, (لولي خانه) three hours, west. A station: Andejan is one march to the north, and in the same direction, at a short distance, is a place called Kaba. On the road are both Kirghizes and Kalmaks—the latter are Musalmans.

Kuperdeg, (کوپردک) west by north, road good, five hours.

[1] The name approaches to the Namgan of the map, but the situations are quite irreconcilable; one or other statement must be incorrect.

Several stations on the route; a river on the way, crossed by a bridge.

Marghinán, (مرغنان) six hours, west by north: it is also called Merghilan, and is one of the chief cities of Ferghana. It contains the tomb of the celebrated monarch Sekander Zulkernein (Alexander the Great). The place is exceedingly pleasant, and the people well-disposed. The ruler is the heir of the Amir of Kokan. Silk and shawl-wool are abundant here, and the people manufacture shawls, although of an inferior workmanship to those of Kashmir. The bulwarks are of clay, and they are in a dilapidated condition: there is a large minareh in the town, of burnt bricks.

Akbeg, (اق بیگ) five hours, west by north. On the road the stations are numerous, but we crossed part of a desert.

Kara khatai, (قراخطای) four hours, west by north. A station of Mohammedans: there are two roads from Merghinan to Kokan, one thickly peopled, the other leading through a desert—which latter we followed.

Kokan, (قوقان) eight hours, west by north: it is also written Khokand. (خوقند) It is a large city, without a wall; from the time of Narbuta Be it has become populous—beyond it there are not many more stations; it has a number of canals supplying every house. Amer Khan is the present ruler—two years ago, or in the beginning of A. H. 1228, it was subject to Alem Khan, his elder brother; but, in consequence of his tyrannical conduct, he became the object of universal detestation, and upon his march to Tashkend, the whole army mutinied, and, deserting him, raised the younger brother to the sovereignty of Kokan. After a short time, Alem Khan returned to Kokan to recover his authority, but lost his life in the attempt.

Alem Khan and Amer Khan were both sons of Narbuta Be. The Amir of Kokan maintains a force of ten thousand horse, and pays them by grants of villages and lands; they cannot keep the field above two months at a time, as they carry with them provision for no longer a period. The other troops, raised by the tribes, amount to thirty thousand; but they only engage to serve one month at a time, and that only once a year. Their services are not paid by the Amir. The people subject to the Government of Kokan are of the Kirghiz, Turk, Kapchak, Ming, and Kazzak races. The troops are mostly armed with spears—some carry matchlocks. The chief cities belonging to the Amir are Osh, Namangan, Kasán, Chus,

one stage from Namangan, Andejan, Marghinan, Kánbadám, Ashferek, Khojend. All these, except Chus and Namangan, are to the left of the Sir, the same river as the Sihun. Namangan and Chus and the hill country of Indejan are on the right of the river: the latter is rich in verdure and abounds with fruit. The forts of Turkestan are Sharukhiah, Tashkend, and Siram. The country about Tashkend is called Turkestan. Formerly Tashkend was named Shásh; it is very pleasantly situated; the river Chirchek flows below it. To the north of the mountains of Andejan the country is a barren plain; to the north of which are the tribes of Kazzaks and Kara Kalpaks, dependant on Russia. The capital of the Khan of the Dast Kapchaks, Bulghar, now known by the name of Kazan, is in the Russian territory. The western boundaries of the wastes extend to the sea (of Aral or the Caspian), the east to the possessions of China.

The chiefs of the Kazzaks have not the title of Khan, but Tura, or chief or head man. Amer Khan in Kokan strikes coin in his own name—one tanga is equal to sixteen puls, and one pul is about two mashas. A gold tila of Bokhara sells at Kokan for 150 tangas, the coin of the country, which is a copper coin washed or plated with silver. The Khotba is not read in the name of any one person; and although there is a good understanding with Bokhara in appearance, there is at bottom great animosity. There is entire independence of that state, but Alem Khan is obliged to keep a force as a defence against the pretensions of Bokhara. The language of Kokan is Turkish; the people of the city are Tajiks or Persians: the chief civil minister of Amer Khan is Mirza Yusef of Khojend. Mirza Asmet Ullah is his deputy. I received great kindness from Mirza Yusef, and he was very desirous I should remain in Kokan.

From Kokan to Samarkand.

Besh arik, (بیش اریق) eight hours, west by south, a station; a bazaar every Monday: it is dependant on Kokan. Very many stations on the road.

Shahbirdi, (شاہ بیردی) one hour, west by south, a station and market.

Kan badám, (کان بادام) three hours, west by south, a large town like a city, having a mountain on the north-west, and a river running along the skirts of it. Formerly the place was famous for

almond trees (whence the name, Badám meaning "almond"). Stations all the way from Kokan.

Moharrem, (محرم) four hours, west by south, a village with a mud fort on the left bank of the Sir, about an arrow's flight distant.

Khojend, (خجند) seven hours, west by south, a celebrated city, about two bow-shots from the left bank of the Sir, defended by a fort and mud wall. Fruit is very plentiful and excellent. The people are of a kindly and cheerful disposition, the people of the city speak both the Tajik and Turk languages. We followed the course of the river through this stage.

Ak tappa, (اق تپه) two hours, south-west, a station with a mud fort: at half a fersekh from Khojend we crossed the Khojend river, which is distinct from the Sir, by a bridge.

Ak su, (اق سو) three hours, south-west, a station; the last under the authority of Kokan.

Kur ket, (کورکت) two hours, south-west, a station with a mud wall, subject to Uratappa, the authority of which government here begins.

Ura tappa, (اوره تپه) eight hours, south-west, a city between two lofty hills, over which the houses extend; it is defended by a mud wall. The ruler of this place for the last six years has been Khajeh Mahmud Khan, a native of Samarkand, a descendant from the Khaja of Herat, and related by the mother's side to Abulfaiz Khan, who was king of Bokhara. He was the son of the sister of Khoda Yar Be, Usbek of the tribe of Yuz. Some years since, before the government of Mahmud Khan, Khoda Yar Be was the ruler of this district; after his death Ura tappa became subject to Bokhara, until Alem Khan took it. Having left it but weakly garrisoned, Mahmud Khan succeeded in surprising it, and gained possession of the place. He professed to have done this for the service of the king of Bokhara, Hyder Beg, to whom he wrote on the occasion, and who readily encouraged him in opposition to Alem Khan. With this support and that of the Usbeks, to whom he was of kin, and who therefore flocked to his assistance, he soon became too powerful for the Amir of Kokan to assail; and he has since held undisturbed possession of the city and adjacent country. The coins are struck, and the Khotba read in the name of the king of Bokhara; but his supremacy is acknowledged in no other respect. A number of the Yuz and Kirek Usbeks are spread about Ura tappa, and constitute

the best forces of Mahmud Khan—upon occasion, they can furnish him with fifteen or twenty thousand horse.

Bekhani, (بخاني) a station near Ura tappa.

Urakinet, (اوراكنت) another station near the same.

Siyat, (سيات) five hours, south-west, a large village, with a mud fort, dependant on Ura tappa.

Yam, (يام) two hours, south-west, a large village, with a mud wall and market: it is the last place in this direction dependant on Uratappa.

Kuduk, (قدق) eight hours, west by south: the word in Turki means a well, there being many wells on the spot, which is tenanted by Usbeks.

Dizikh, (دزخ) six hours west; it is also called Jizikh: it is a considerable town, defended by a mud wall and fort, and governed by Abdurrasul Be, the brother of Hakim Be: the passes of all merchandise from Kokan to Bokhara, are made out here, and forwarded to the latter place, where the duty is paid.

Ilan Ute, (ايلان اوتى) two hours, west, a place abounding with snakes in the summer; at present there were none to be seen. The mountains here approach on either side, so as to form a narrow gorge: on the northern side an inscription is engraved upon a stone in the mountain, stating that Sultan Abdullah Khan, in the Hijri year 977, with an army of 100,000 men from Tashkend, Turkestan, and the steppes of the Kapchaks, made war upon the Khans, and defeated them with so great a slaughter, that for a month after, the stream which passes by this place ran with blood. The stream comes from Dizikh.

Yangi Kurghen, (يانگى قورغن) four hours, west by south, a castle dependant on Dizikh, occupied by the Usbeks. The road good and mountains retiring.

Bulak Mallachap, (بولاك ملاچپ) four hours, west by south, a spring: no population.

Khisht Koperdek, (خشت كوپردك) two hours, west by south, a bridge of baked bricks over the river.

Kara Kalpak, (قراقلپاق) one hour, west by south, a village occupied by the people so named, who are a branch of Usbeks resembling the Kazzaks: there are other stations of them on the road.

Darya Kohik. This is a river which comes from Derwaz and

Sirkol, and after irrigating the plain of Samarkand, and supplying Miankal, it passes to Bokhara, and furnishes that city and vicinity with water. After passing the river, we arrived at Samarkand; this river sends off a branch to Deh Bed, which is one fersekh and a half from Samarkand. The sons of Mohammed Amin, the predecessor of Mir Hyder, reside at Deh Bed, which is a pleasant place with many gardens.

The city of Samarkand, (سمرقند) two hours, west by south; a celebrated city, and the seat of the sepulchre of Amir Timur; a lofty building with an immense cupola: within it is a remarkable slab of a brilliant green stone, and above it is a plate with an inscription, with the name of Timur engraved on it. Formerly the dome was gilt, but Shah Murad Be stripped off the gilding, and took it away; it is now merely of stucco. The attendants are in much poverty; they told me that formerly they were supported by an allowance from the Emperors of Hindustan, which ceased with Mohammed Shah; and they wished to know if there were in India any of the descendants of Timur, whom they might apprise of their condition. The observatory of Mirza Ulugh Beg was formerly here, but it was demolished by Shaiban Khan, and there is only a mound of rubbish left.

The tombs of Khojeh Abdullah Ahrar, of Abul Mansur Maturidi, of the author of the Bedaya, and other eminent and illustrious men are also to be seen here.

Samarkand is defended by a mud wall, as well as a citadel of earth. The interior of the fort is inhabited, as well as the suburb; in the centre of the city is a large hexagonal building, surmounted by a cupola, and in each angle is a market. There are many large colleges in the city; the largest is the Madressa Khanum, but it is now in ruins. Some of the colleges are still maintained, as those of Shirnak and Tilakari, founded by Baling tosh Beg; the principal of the Shir nak college is named Abu Sayid; he is the chief cazy also, and is one of the most learned and amiable men in Samarkand. The Tilakari college has two principals and two scholars. Opposite to the Shir nak college is that of Ulugh Beg, in which is the chamber of Mullah Jami.

The Governor of Samarkand is Dowlet Be Kushbegi. Before the reign of Shah Murad Be, Samarkand was in an entirely dilapidated condition, and the colleges were haunted by lions and wolves. Shah Murad by great exertion repeopled the city, and it increases daily in population. There are two markets a week, on Sunday and

Thursday. Horses of the Bokhara breed are cheap. The situation and climate of this city are delightful, and running streams supply it with water. A variety of tribes are to be met with in the neighbourhood, as Mohammedans from China, and Kapchaks, and Karakalpaks; formerly, perhaps, they were scattered in different cities, but they are now collected, and are all called Usbeks. The weight of Samarkand is, one tila, equal to one miskal, but the market miskal is equal to five tilas; five bazar miskals are one gharribek, two gharribek make one pashezek, two pashezeks one yetimék, two yetiméks one nimkhora, two nimkhoras are one nim charek, two nim-chareks one charek, four chareks one seer, sixteen seers one maund. Weights were formerly differently reckoned, but they have been fixed at these rates during the last two years.

From Samarkand to Bokhara.

Rebat cherkhi, (رباط چرخي) three hours, west by south; this fort was built by Abdullah Khan: Cherkhi is the name of the village near the Rebat or fort.

Dowel, (دوول) two hours, west by south, a village with a river running past it.

Nasirabad, (نصيراباد) one hour, west by south, a village: the road over a hilly country.

Kamáruk (قمار وق) is a village near Nasirabad.

Ashek-ata, (عاشق اتا) three hours, west by south: it is the tomb of some illustrious person, and the village takes the same name; a large stream.

Karasu, (قراسو) two hours, west by south, a village with a mosque and mud walls: a custom station. Amir Hyder stationed a troop of Usbeks here, to protect the road from banditti.

Kitteh Kurghan, (كتة قورغان) five hours, west by south, a mud fort and walled village; it is said to be eight fersekhs from Samarkand.

Rebat Abdullah Khan, (رباط عبدالله خان) eight hours, west by south, near a station of Tartars.

Kermina, (كرمينا) seven hours, west by south, a place of considerable extent in the district of Mian Kal: on the south is a sandy desert.

A mud fort, three hours, west by south, erected by Abdullah Khan. On the road are stations; on the south a desart.

Iranchi, (ایرانچی) eight hours, west by south, a large village; the same country prevails, and stations are numerous on the right of the road, whilst the desart continues on the left.

Mizar, five hours, west by north, the tomb of Khaja Baha-ud-din of Nakshebend; gardens and stations occur on the road. On Wednesday there is a large maket for horses, asses, and all sorts of articles. The tomb is without a cupola, and on the north-west of the tomb is a mosque.

The city Bokhara, (بخارا شریف) two hours west. Bokhara is surrounded by a mud wall, and contains a citadel within which the king resides. The city abounds with squares and markets, and the suburbs with gardens. The inhabitants of Bokhara are natives of Iran, and Rúm, and Nogais from Russia, and people from Kabul, and Peshawer, attracted thither by the good government of Mir Hyder and the perfect security of travelling. There are many colleges and students. Each college has endowments in land; besides which the king gives personal allowances to the teachers and disciples, out of the Máli Zikat, (or tax levied for charitable purposes) the rest of which is invariably distributed amongst the needy and distressed, and never goes into the royal coffers. All the affairs of the state are conducted by the king himself, without the assistance of any principal ministers, except Hakim Be, who when the king goes out from the city on any journey, is left in charge of the citadel and the administration of affairs. The collection of the Máli Zikat, and other imposts, is in the hands of Hakim Be also, under supervisal of the king: no other officer of the state has equal authority.

There is a market for horses four days in each week. On Saturday, Monday, and Thursday, it is held in the city, on the side of the gate of the desert near the citadel: on Wednesday, it occurs without the city near the tomb of Baha-ud-din. Horses of no value only are brought to market, their price is from ten to fifteen tilas: horses of higher cost, or from 100 to 150 tilas, are to be had of the dealers at their own houses, and are brought by brokers for inspection: but there are very few, and it would be difficult at any one time to collect from fifty to one hundred horses of this class. Mares are scarce here: those of the best kind sell for twenty tilas according to the price current; but it is not the custom to sell them at all, as they are kept for breeding, and it is only when the market

price is higher than usual that they are ever offered for sale. The usual number of horses for sale, on each market day, is about fifty or sixty, of which not more than five or ten are disposed of. The horses of Karâ Shahar or the Uzbekí horses are small but hard working and strong, they are bred about Miánkál and Shehr Sabz, and sell for from seven to forty tilas: the Turkoman horses are of a good figure and active, but they do not, it is said, bear fatigue so well as the former; they sell for from twenty to one hundred tilas; they are brought from either bank of the Sihon and the country about Merv: they are now scarce. The Kazak horses are fat and low, but sure footed: they cannot bear heat: they used to abound in Kashgar and Yarkand, but of late years there has been much destruction of them in consequence of want of forage, and their being slaughtered for food in seasons of general scarcity. Asses of a large size and great strength, about as big as the ponies of Hindustan, sell at from one tila to twenty: there are no mules. The camels of the Kazaks are two-humped and well covered with hair, but they cannot endure heat: they travel well over mountains and in clayey and muddy soils, but they cannot carry equal burdens with the single humped camel. The tila is a small gold coin weighing one miskal, and passes for about twenty-one tangas: the tanga is a silver coin weighing one dírhem: on one face is stamped Zerbi Bokhara Sherif, and on the other, Amir Al Momenín, Amir Hyder. Rupees are not current.

I arrived at Bokhara on the 20th of Rebi-as-sani, A. H. 1228, (the 21st of April, 1813,) and took up my abode at the house of Karabash Bai, a merchant of Tashkend, with whose brother I had made acquaintance in Kashghar.

A caravan goes every year from Bokhara to Russia, and one comes annually from Russia to Bokhara: these caravans consist of 4000 or 5000 camels, and are two and three months on the road. The chief commerce of Bokhara is with Russia. The Russian caravan brings iron, copper, silver, silver and gold wire, seal skins and other articles: from Bokhara go coarse chintzes, cotton yarn, black sheep skins from Karakul[1], &c.

The authority of this part of Turkestan is divided amongst various chiefs: the principal of them is Mir Hyder, king of Bokhara,

[1] That the people of Turkestan were well acquainted with the affairs of Russia, is shown by the account which Izzet Ullah here inserts of the French invasion and burning of Moscow, briefly but correctly enough, as he had heard it at Samarkand. He also discusses at some length reports and opinions respecting the invasion of India by the Russians.

whose regular and irregular forces amount to 100,000 horse: he holds Bokhara and Samarkand, Miánkál, Kattakur, Karghan, Karmina, Kershi, and Kerakul, &c.

Amer Khan, the ruler of Ferghana, is next in power. I have already given an account of him, as well as of the third, or Mahmud Khan, the Wali of Uratappa.

The fourth chief is Niaz Ali Be, ruler of Shehr Sabz: he professes to consider himself dependant on Bokhara, but neither strikes the coin nor reads the Khotba in the name of Mir Hyder: his title in his own country is Wali Niámat.

The fifth is Sayid Be, ruler of Hissar.

The sixth and seventh are Murad Ali Beg and Dost Mohammed Beg, the rulers of the Kabadián.

The eighth is Allah Yar Beg, the chief of Kurghan.

Besides these the Kazáks, Kara Kalpaks, and Karghiz, who roam the plains, acknowledge no superior except their own chiefs: the head man of the Kazáks is called the Tura, but he has little or no authority.

Six Mohammedan cities, or Yarkand, Aksu, Turfan, Khoten, and two others, comprised within the limits of Mongholistan, are in the possession of the Chinese.

On the left of the Amu is the country of Kharizm, the capital of which is Urgenj: the chief is Mohammed Rahim Khan, who strikes the coin and reads the Khotba in his own name.

Mir Kilich Ali Khan, is viceroy, and Mir of Khulm; the nominal governor of Balkh is an Afghan, and it is considered a dependency of Kabul, but it is in the hands of the Mir.

Yilzor Khan, the son of Rehmet Ullah Khan, is the ruler of Andekoh, Murad Be of Kunduz, and Iraj Khan of Shirghan; Rahim Beg is chief of the Turkomans in Maimena; Mir Mohammed Shah is the ruler of Badakhshan, and resides at Faizabad, the capital: he is considered to be a descendant from Sekander Zulkernein, (Alexander the Great): Shagnan, near Badakhshan, has its own ruler: all these chiefs are unconnected with each other.

The tombs of Bokhara, either in the city or in its neighbourhood, are very numerous: amongst them are those of Hezret Said Amir Kulal, Khajeh Beha-ud-din of Nakshebend, Imam Abu Hefs Kabir, and Imam Ahmed Ghazali, of the author of the Shereh Wakaya, of Baba Paradoz (the darner) of Hezret Imlah and of Shah Murad Be Wali Niami; this last has no dome nor turrets: they say that the earth from this last tomb has many healing qualities.

The kingdom of Bokhara comprises seven Tomans or districts, viz., Ghijhdowan, Wanghari, Kheirkosh, Waikand, Ramiten, Zendeni, and Werwanzi.

The city of Bokhara has eleven gates, which, beginning on the east, are as follows:—

The gate of the tombs, on the east, through which they pass to the sepulchre of Khajeh Beha-ad-din.

The gate of Samarkand, north-east.

The Imam gate, or that leading to the tomb of Imam Abu Hafs Kabir.

The gate of Aughelan, north.

The gate of Talbaghach or Talpach, north-west.

The Shirgeran gate, north-west.

The Karakul gate, west.

The gate of Sheikh Jelal, south-west.

The gate of the place of Prayer, south-west.

The gate of the Arsenal, north-west.

The gate of Kelbaghach, north-west.

The wall of the city is lofty, built of unbaked bricks, and the citadel built of the same materials, is situated on a mount within the city, on the north side near the Imam gate: it contains many buildings: the gate of the Fort is to the west, and within the gate are sixteen guns and five mortars, all dismounted. A large mosque is situated below the citadel on the west, in which the king himself reads the Khotba and performs the duties of Pesh Imam. In front of the gate of the citadel and the mosque there is a bazar. It is called the market of the sandy country: a gibbet is erected in it, on which murderers and highway robbers, and thieves who have thrice committed the crime, are suspended after being put to death according to the law. There is also a market every morning at daybreak at the Chahar-su, or the square market: the place where it is held being of that form. On three sides there is access, but the fourth is closed; and on that side, books are sold. There are many hot-baths in Bokhara, and their use is very general.

There are eighty colleges in Bokhara, containing from forty to two or three hundred chambers. That of Kokultash, which is near the gate of Khajeh Beha-ud-din, contains three hundred. There is one Muderris to each college, and two pupils in each chamber. The colleges are supported by the rents of houses and the lands attached to them—their revenues vary from 300 to 5000 rupees a year: but the king also contributes yearly a portion of the Zikat,

and makes the principal professor an allowance of from five to fifteen tilas per month.

Twelve cos from Bokhara, on the north, runs the river Kohik, which comes from the mountains of Samarkand and flows to the west; canals are cut from the river which irrigate the fields and gardens about the city: every fifteenth day the water is conveyed to the public reservoirs, which are filled: the same water supplies the city and fort, and there are no wells. In the rainy season the people use rain water, after which they are extensively subject to the worm in the skin, especially in the leg, and knee. Little snow falls in Bokhara; but there is much cold and frost, and the cool weather lasts eight months—the other four constitute spring and summer.

The houses of Bokhara are like those of Peshawer; they are built of unbaked bricks, and are two or three stories high; the walls are thin and are strengthened with wooden buttresses: the markets are mostly covered in, and there are several Serais for the accommodation of merchants, as the serai of Alem Khan, where the Hindus from Shikarpur and other places alight. The hire of a chamber is one tila per month: the Hindu traders pay also the jezia to the king. They bring indigo chiefly, and tobacco. Another serai is the Nogha-i, where the Nogay and other traders put up: the Nogays are Musselmans subject to Russia, some of them are residents in Bokhara. There are about fifty druggists' shops in the city; but no skilful physician—the practitioners are all ignorant of the science; and when any medical professor comes along with the merchants from Peshawer or other places, he is held in very high estimation. The most common disease is the rishteh, (Guinea worm) and few people are free from it, like colds in Hindustan in the winter season; the people of Bokhara are very dexterous in the treatment of it, and extract it by incision, in this manner: if the head of the rishteh be near the wrist and the tail near the elbow, they carry the finger along it, to ascertain its course, and then lay the skin open with a lancet for three or four fingers breadth, a little below the head, which they draw back to the place where the incision began; they then make another incision of a similar kind, and so proceed gradually till they come to the origin of the worm, and remove it entirely. Other complaints are fevers, leprosy, and affections of the bowels. It happens sometimes, that where the physicians have engaged to cure the sick, and the patient has died, the heirs have demanded the price of blood; in that case the king has declared that when the physician knows his profession, he shall be held

acquitted; but if he proves an ignoramus he is condemned to pay the usual amercement—these cases are too frequent to be much attended to; but a physician leads but an uncomfortable sort of life in Bokhara.

The following are the dependant and contiguous governments:—

Samarkand, six stages to the east, governed by Daulat Be, the Kosh Begi of the slaves of the king, adjoining to Shehr Sabz.

Karakul, two stages on the west, governed by Kabil Be, the brother of Hakim Be. To the north and west of Karakul is a desart.

On the south the river Jihun (the Oxus) bounds Bokhara. Turkoman tribes are stationed along under its bank, under Niaz Beg.

On the north the country is inhabited but for two marches, and terminates on the north and north-west in a desart. The Hakim is Tora-khajeh, the king's nephew.

On the south-east is the district of Kilef, for eight marches along the right bank of the Jihun, to the confines of Balkh and Hissar, it is under Mir Rahim Kul, the king's cousin.

On the north-west are the districts of Khairabad and Ramitan, a stage apart, terminating in a desart.

Twelve stages to the south-west is the city of Merv Shajehan; the district of Meshed bounds Bokhara: a body of troops is kept up here, which is relieved from time to time.

On the north-east is the district of Dizzekh, nine marches, extending to the limits of Urtepeh.

There are about three hundred officers of the government, entitled Amirs and Khans[1]. *Be* and *Mir* are titles of the Sirdars; the latter implies a higher grade, as the Vizier is called Hakim Be: the father of the king was also known by that title. The king's troops on the rolls, according to the best informed persons, are said to be 80,000 horse, but according to general report they are above 100,000. The king's troops receive regular pay. About 10,000 of them are stationed at Samarkand, and as many at Merv. The choicest are at Bokhara, and in its vicinity. Lists describing each man and horse are kept by the king.

The revenues of Bokhara are derived from three sources—the land-tax, the customs, and the tax on unbelievers: the first is collected according to registers kept in the time of Amir Timur, and varies from a half to a tenth of the produce; the second is one in forty of the value of all goods bought and sold; but it is levied only

[1] The original gives an account of several of the principal of them.

once a year, and the merchant who has paid this duty on his merchandize, may transport it where he pleases, without further demand. A tax in kind is also levied once a year on all persons possessed of flocks and herds.

The Jezia is levied on all not of the Mohammedan religion, as Jews and Hindus; it varies from one tanga to four per head, on males of mature years, according to the circumstances of the parties. The Hindus come from Shikarpur and Cabul, and remain only from six months to a year, or sometimes two years; there are none permanently settled. The Jews occupy about 1000 houses in the city near the arsenal gate; they are employed in silk manufactures and dyeing, or as butchers, and in merchandize: this tax is the king's personal property, the others are entirely appropriated to public purposes. Mir Hyder is about thirty-five years of age; he is tall, and well made; he is naturally of a fair complexion, but by the fervour of his religious exercises and fasting every third day throughout the year, as well as by his assiduity in the administration of justice, he looks pale and sallow; he wears his beard of a round cut, and an Usbeki cap on his head, with a turban bound round it like an Arab turban; his dress is a kind of tunic, over which he wears a jama and a kemerband, with a dagger, and a robe of a brown colour over the whole; his legs are protected by short boots of the kind called here masah, but without heels.

He rises in the middle of the night and reads the prayers of the season, and then pursues moral and religious occupations till daylight, when after the prayers of dawn, he give a lecture to about forty or fifty students on the traditions of the Prophet and in explanation of the Koran. He then takes his place in the court, kneeling on a velvet cushion, and receives in the usual form the salutation of his courtiers; each as he enters at the door pronounces with a loud voice Salam ali-kum, and then passes to and kneels at his appointed place; the salutation is returned by a person appointed to that duty, who replies Alikum Salam on the part of the king: in this audience holy men and the teachers of the law sit on the right hand of the king: the Khans on his left: all are on their knees. Hakim Be remains standing in front of the king; the royal attendants also stand near the king on his left: all the men of the law and Khans when they come to court are dressed in precisely the same costume. Those who are newly arrived put on the Usbek dress for their introduction: they are met by a mace-bearer at the door of the hall of audience, and led towards the king: they stop at some distance, and exclaim, Salam Alikum: they then

advance some paces, when two servants taking the person by either arm, lead him to within a short distance of his majesty. If the king present his hand, the person kisses it; if he direct him to be seated, the attendants conduct him to a place suited to his rank. On his sitting he pronounces a compliment to the king, and then states what he may wish to represent. Embassadors are maintained at the king's cost.

After the levee is over and the persons who assisted at it are dismissed, the Chobdars announce to all who are collected about the gates every morning, that if they have any representation to make, they may advance, and they are all admitted and made to sit down before the king, who reads their petitions, and pronounces a decision on their cases according to the legal authorities, copies of the principal of which lie on cushions before him. At noon, a few of the chief learned men are admitted to hold disputations in the royal presence, and the king not unfrequently takes a part in them. He then acts as Pesh Imam for the mid-day prayers, when the investigation of private and public affairs is resumed, and continues till afternoon prayers. The same occupations are then followed till evening. Evening prayers are said, and some short time afterwards food is taken; the prayers of the night are then repeated, and the king takes his repose, for about a watch and a half (or four hours and a half). If any cause requires a protracted investigation, it is referred to the Kazi, who must decide according to the law, through fear of the Amir, the general familiarity of the people themselves with the laws, and their ready access to the king. Every Wednesday the king goes in pilgrimage, on foot, to the tomb of Beha-ud-din. A report of every death is made to him, on which he mounts his horse, goes to the dwelling of the deceased, and reads the prayers for the dead himself: he also reads the Khotba and conducts the religious service at the great mosque every Friday himself. After the service he inspects his troops, and then holds a levee, at which the chief men of the city and environs make their salams.

The king has four wives besides slaves, and one son, sixteen years old, named Tora Jan and Tora Shahzada. He has two brothers, Nasíruddín Khan Mir Zada, who is at present in Meshhed, where he receives an allowance of three tomans, or thirty rupees, a month, from the Prince of Persia, Mohammed Mirza, son of Fetteh Ali, who is governor of Meshhed. The other brother is Mohammed Hosein Khan, residing in Shehr Sabz with Neaz Ali Be; but supported by Mir Hyder. Shehr Sabz is a city independent of Bokhara, it is six stages to the north of east from Bokhara, and south by east

from Samarkand, two stages, amongst the mountains. It has a great number of small streams.

The commander of the watch patrols every division of the city during the night, and before he sets out, has the drum beaten, that every one may betake himself home. Every person found in the street after beat of drum, is detained till the morning, and then particularly examined, and treated accordingly.

The morning meal of the people of Bokhara and of all the tribes of Turan, is tea with milk, in which bread is dipped and eaten. Towards evening they have a second meal of pilao or broth with bread, and meat chopped fine, or dressed with barley or rice: after this they again take tea. Bread is sold in the bazaar, so that whatever quantity is required may at once be had. The bread of Bokhara is very famous; it is usually kept for many days after it is baked. The melons of Bokhara are very fine, weighing sometimes ten Delhi sers; they are very sweet, and remain fresh for seven or eight months, but they lose something of their flavour by keeping and in cold weather. Grapes are abundant and fine; so are the water melons. Nuts, apples, and pomegranates, are in great plenty.

In the month of November, the Usbek and Bulghar traders arrive at Bokhara, from the Russian territories, and bring the following articles for sale:—copper, brass, iron, steel, silver, mercury, coral, cochineal, candied sugar, white paper, broad cloths, flannel, seal skins, and iron, and japanned vessels.

In January, the traders return to Russia, taking with them, cotton, cloth, and thread, coarse chintzes, shawls, Karakul black sheep skins.

Russia is two months' journey from Bokhara north inclining to west; the road lies across the Sihon which is frozen over in winter, and the caravans cross it upon the ice: the country beyond it is desart, and the Kazzak tribes, who occupy the tract, live wholly upon the produce of their flocks.

From Bokhara, the Kabul merchants take horses, horse-cloths, copper, jámás of various patterns, and brocades, silver, turquoises, coral, silk, tea, porcelain, silk handkerchiefs, Cshirras.

From Kabul and the Punjab, the following articles come to Bokhara, shawls, turbans, handkerchiefs, chintzes, sugar, coarse and refined, turmeric, round pepper, and law books.

There is no fixed rate of exchange with Bokhara, but bills are procurable from the Hindus of Shikarpur, on their agents at Bokhara, at a considerable premium, twenty or twenty-five per cent. If a

person carry coin, he loses immensely, owing to its not being current; he loses less if he buy bullion at Kabul, and take it to Bokhara: but that is unprofitable, as gold and silver are cheap at the latter place, and the Hindu merchants buy it to a large amount, and send it on camels to the Punjab. On this account, bullion and money are rarely sent from Kabul, and goods only are remitted.

The prices of articles at Bokhara are as follows:—

Wheat	one maund	15 tangas.
Flour	one maund	18 tangas.
Barley	one maund	14 tangas.
Juwar	one maund	12 tangas.
Fine rice	one maund	3 tilas.
Meat	one charek	1 tanga.
Sheeps tails	one charek	1 tanga.
Ghee	one charek	4 tanga.
Fuel	an ass-load	1 tanga.
Fodder for a horse for 24 hours		½ tanga.

Copper and other metals are weighed with stone weights; one man is equal to 27,392 miskals of gold, which is equal to 19,957 rupees, or 3 maund 17 seers, Delhi weight.

The Bokhara maund contains 16 weights of two half seers:—

A2 half seer	contains	4 chareks.
1 half seer	contains	2 chareks.
1 charek	contains	4 nimchehs.
1 nimcheh	contains	2 nim nimcheh
1 nim nimcheh	contains	10 miskal of stone
		or 53 half miskals of gold.

Hakim Amir or Mir Hyder has adopted the title of Amir al Momenin. His father, Shah Murad Be, was entitled Wali Niamat: he is of the Munkid tribe of Uzbeks, and his great grandfather Khodayar Atalik was a celebrated warrior, who first obtained the rank of Atálik: Atálik means viceroy or representative of the prince.

A grandson of Khodayar, named Rahim Khan, the cousin of Mir Hyder's father, hastened to Bokhara on the death of Nadir Shah, and sent a fictitious order with Nadir's seal to the governor of the citadel, named Abulfaiz Khan, to abandon the fortress: the governor having in obedience to the supposed mandate quitted the place, it was seized by Rahim Khan, and Abulfaiz Khan was thrown into confinement. Several of the neighbouring chiefs prepared to take part with Abulfaiz Khan, when the usurper put him to death; but he raised his son Abdul Momin, a child seven years old, to the Mesned, by the title of Khan, whilst he professed to be only Atálik;

he also married the daughter of Abulfaiz Khan. In this manner six years and a half passed away, by which time Abdul Momin, being a youth, several of his adherents undertook to put Rahim Khan to death. At a dinner, to which he was invited by the prince, he was fired at by a person stationed privately for the purpose: the ball lodged in his cap, but he escaped, and the attendants of the prince were immediately slain by his followers. Six months afterwards, having led Abdul Momin Khan to the edge of a well, some of his people threw the lad into it, and he was drowned; when it had been long enough under water, the body was drawn up. The direct line of Abulfaiz Khan being thus extinct, Rahim Khan as the son-in-law of that prince, assumed the title of Khan, and governed Bokhara for two years and a half: he left no children, and Daud Be, one of his slaves, taking upon himself temporary authority, invited Daniel Be, the uncle of Rahim Khan, who resided in Karmina to succeed to the Mesned. He declined the title of Khan, and relinquished it to Abulghazi Khan, son of Ibrahim Sultan, a descendant of Changhiz Khan, retaining however the territory of Bokhara. Ibrahim Sultan was the nephew of Rejeb Mohammed Khan, the enemy of Abulfaiz Khan: he was said to be a descendant of Abdullah Khan. After the death of Daniel Be his son Morad Be succeeded and continued for two years to acknowledge the nominal supremacy of Abulghazi Khan; but after that period he exacted a formal grant of the territory from that chief, and, disregarding the title of Khan, he procured a sened from the Sultan of Rúm, appointing him his viceroy, and adopted the title of Wali Níamat: the rank that was granted by the Sultan of Rúm to Morad Be, was that of Kurchi Bashi: that to Mir Hyder is Mir Akhor Bashi: but the real nature of these dignities I could not exactly ascertain. After the death of Morad Be, his son, Mir Hyder, succeeded; and at first had impressed upon his coin Sayid Amir Hyder Padshah Ghazi: he applied for the confirmation of his authority to the court of Rúm, and adopted all the insignia of sovereignty. At the end of two years he laid the state of Sultan aside, and imitated the unpretending style of his father, assuming the title of Amir al Momenin. In 1813, he had reigned eighteen years,—and has proved himself in every respect a prudent, just, pious, and able prince: he is, however, somewhat capricious and hasty towards those about his person, —and when displeased, disgraces, or even puts them to death without any investigation.

Mir Hyder is the son of Shems-ban-aim, the daughter of Abulfaiz Khan: after the death of Rahim Khan this lady was married by Morad Be, and their progeny was the present sovereign.

Abulfaiz Khan was Sultan of Bokhara forty years: the sovereignty was acquired by his ancestor in the fourth degree Baki Mohammed Khan, a descendant of Changhiz Khan.

After the downfall of Abdullah Khan the sovereignty descended to Wali Mohammed Khan: but he becoming suspected of adhering to the Rafzi sect was expelled, and Baki Mohammed raised to the Mesned in his stead.

Baki Mohammed resided in Aferin Kanit, a place near Samarkand. Imam Kuli Khan, his son, attacked and captured Meshhed: he married the daughter of the Governor, a Sayid, and had by her Nazr Mohammed Khan; and the family thence assumed the title of Sayid. Imam Kuli Khan reigned forty years. Abdul Aziz Khan, the son of Nazr Mohammed, reigned sixteen years: when he abdicated in favour of his brother Subhan Kuli Khan, and set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca: he died on the road. Subhan Kuli Khan had three sons, of whom Abdullah Khan succeeded his father and reigned fourteen years: he was an active prince, but having given offence to his Usbek followers by his leaning to the Shiah faith, was killed by them, at the Eidgah in Bokhara, and crowned with the honours of martyrdom. He was succeeded by his son, Abulfaiz Khan Mohkim Khan. Another son of Subhan Kuli Khan, was made king of Balkh, in the lifetime of his father, until he was attacked and slain by Mahmud Khan, the son of Beg Murad Uzbek of Kattaghan, who seized upon Balkh. Abdullah Khan revenged his uncle's death, and expelled and slew the invader.

[The route from Bokhara to Kabul, followed by Mir Izzet Ullah, has been so frequently travelled since his time, and is now so well known, that it were superfluous to continue his itinerary further.]

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

KINGDOM OF PÁNDYA,

SOUTHERN PENINSULA OF INDIA.

BY

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq.

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, OXFORD.

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HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

KINGDOM OF PÁNDYA,

SOUTHERN PENINSULA OF INDIA.

THE following sketch of the history of the principality of Pándya, one of the earliest political divisions of southern India, was compiled several years ago, from documents contained in the manuscript collections of the late Colonel MACKENZIE. It was prepared before the completion and publication of my catalogue of those collections, and it was my intention to have revised it at some future period, with the assistance of such further materials as a more thorough examination of its authorities might have supplied. At the same time, I commenced similar epitomes of the history of the other chief states of the Peninsula, purposing in like manner to give them the benefit of future revision and comparison with additional sources of information. Time, however, passes away, and I have not had any opportunity of carrying my intentions into execution. When such an occasion may offer is still uncertain, and I have thought, therefore, that it may not be unacceptable to the ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY to be put at once in possession of what I have effected, at least as far as relates to the kindom of Pándya. From my subsequent investigation of the MACKENZIE Collection, I do not expect that any material accession to our knowledge of the remote condition of the Pándya kingdom will be derived from it; but, at any rate, so much as is here supplied will, in the mean time, contribute to throw some light upon a dark period of Pándya history, and may pave the way for its more complete and more successful elucidation.[1]

The historical traditions of the south of India divide the extreme southern portion of the east part of the peninsula, which is termed Drávira Désa, into three principalities, or those of Pándya, Chola,

[1] A list of the authorities will be found at the end of this paper.

and Chéra. The first of these is the subject of the present inquiry. The early existence of the Pándya kingdom we learn from classical authorities.[1] At the beginning of the Christian era, the Regio Pandionis, of which Madura was then and ever afterwards the capital, appears to have comprehended the greater part of the southern portion of the Coromandel coast, and to have extended across the peninsula to Canara and Malabar, and southward to the sea. It was subsequently confined to narrower limits by the independence of Malabar and the rise of the state of Chéra to the west, by the growth of the principality of Rámnád to the south, and the aggrandisement of the Chola sovereignty to the east, till it sank, in modern times, into the petty government of the Náyaks of Madura. At various periods of its history it may be presumed, the following definitions of its limits have been laid down by native authorities. One account places Raméswara on the east, Kanya Kumári on the south, Satyamangalam on the west, and the river Palar on the north. Another, which seems the more accurate, makes the Valar river the northern boundary, and Paruvali the western; but agrees with the preceding in carrying the Pándya territory to the sea, both to the south and east, including, consequently, the present Rámnád, and part of Tinivelly.

The Coromandel provinces on the eastern peninsula, from the Godaveri to Cape Comorin, are described in all the traditionary accounts of this part of India, as one vast tract of forest to which

[1] The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, particularises Nelcynda, or Neliceram; Paralia, Malabar, or Travancore; and Comari, Cape Comorin; as ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πανδίονα, under king Pandion. Dr. VINCENT conjectures, that the king of Madura had extended his power from the eastern to the western side of the peninsula, and was master of Malabar when the fleets from India first visited the coast (vol. ii. 401). He also thinks it likely that the power of Pandion had been superseded in Malabar between the age of the Periplus and Ptolemy; for Ptolemy reckons Aii next to Limurike on the south, and takes no notice of Pandion till he is past Cape Comorin (ibid). The conjecture derives very strong support from the traditions of these countries. It may be supposed that the embassies sent by Pandion to Augustus, as noticed by classical authorities, and which there is no reason to call in question, arose out of the ambitious extension of the territories of the Pándya prince: two occurrences of this nature are noticed, one the 18th year after the death of Julius Cæsar, which reached Augustus at Tarracona; the other six years afterwards, when that prince was at Samos. Et quidem duplex erat illa ad Augustum legatio, cujus utriusque tempus habemus exploratum; prior bello Cantabrico quam Tarracone Augustus accepit, teste Orosio (vi. 21). Secundam deinde legationem anno Varr. 734, assignat Dio (l. liv.), quo tempore Sami hyemavit Augustus. Hos vidit, ni fallor, legatos, Nicolaus Damascenus, Antiochiæ Samum, ut videtur, petentes, teste Strabone (l. xv. p. 719). DODWELL, de Ætate et Auctore Peripli Maris Erythrei, 105.

the name Dandaka, or Dandakáranya was applied. It was in these thickets that Ráma and Sitá resided during their exile, that he commenced his warfare against the Rákshasas, or savages and fiends, who divided with hermits and sages the possession of the wilderness, and that Sitá was carried off in resentment of Ráma's successful attacks upon the wild tenants of these shades. After the subjugation of the savage inhabitants of Dandakáranya and the conquest of Lanká, various individuals from the north, it is said, attracted southwards by the performance of pilgrimage to the scenes of Ráma's triumphs, were tempted, by the unoccupied state of the country, to settle themselves and their families upon the undisputed territory. They accordingly cleared and cultivated different tracts, and thus laid the foundation of future principalities. To such circumstances the Pándya kingdom owed its rise. An adventurer, named Pándya, of the Velálar, or agricultural tribe, first established himself in that portion of the south to which his name was afterwards assigned.[1] This happened, according to the authority followed, in the last *yuga*, or *age*, in which seventy-two princes are enumerated as ruling over the kingdom. Other accounts, however, do not name the founder of the monarchy, but pass over some indefinite interval to the reign of Sámpanna Pándya, whose son, Kúla Sék'hara is, in all the lists, specified as the first king of Madura, from his being regarded traditionally as the founder of that city. It is from this prince that seventy-two kings are enumerated in the list above referred to.[2] Another list,[3] said to be taken from the *Madura Purána*, but, if so, not very accurately compiled, reckons seventy-five princes from Soma Sundara, the third of the preceding list, to Kuna Pándya, who appears to be its seventy-third. Another list limits the number of kings from Kula Sék'hara to Kuna Pándya to thirty,[4] whilst it is stated generally, in a different authority, that the whole number of Pándya kings who preceded Kuna Pándya, amounted to three hundred and fifty-seven:[5] it is evident, therefore, that beyond mere

[1] No notice of any of the kingdoms of the south could consistently occur in the Rámáyana. MANU speaks of the Dráviras as degraded Kshetriyas, but makes no mention of Cholas or Pándyas. Both Chola and Pándya are respectively mentioned in the Mahábhárata, but their origin is not there described. The Harivansa and Agni Purána, make Pándya, Chola, Kerala, and Kola, great-grandsons of Dushyanta, of the line of Puru, and founders of the regal dynasties named after them. The descendants of Dushyanta, however, as specified in the Vishnu Purána, do not include these personages, and their insertion seems to have been the work of the more recent authorities. The Harivansa, with no little inconsistency, places the Pándyas and Cholas amongst the Kshetriya tribes degraded by Sagara. The Padma Purána has a similar addition to the list of those tribes in the Rámáyana.

[2] List of authorities, No. 1. [3] List, No. 3. [4] List, No. 2.

[5] Rájá Cheritî. List, No. 5.

names, and those, perhaps, more fanciful than historical, we are not likely to derive much satisfactory information from these conflicting statements. It may, indeed, be observed of such lists,[1] and they are numerous, that they bear their own refutation when they assert very high antiquity. The names are from the first Sanskrit; but, according to the most able scholars in the languages of the Dekhin, there was a period which preceded the infusion of Sanskrit[2] into the dialects of the south, and the princes of those periods were, of course, not designated by exotic appellations. Either, therefore, the first names of the lists are modern fabrications, or the lists ascend to a comparatively recent date. There can be no doubt, that in examining local lists of Hindú kings in the peninsula, both sources of error, or misrepresentation, are to be taken into account.

The objection advanced against these lists applies equally to all the written records, and is alike fatal to the extreme antiquity of the events which they narrate. The meagreness and inconsistency of the various sources of information might throw a suspicion upon the existence of the Pándya monarchy at any remote period, did not classical writers bear testimony to the celebrity even of its capital city, at the very commencement of our era. How long before this it was founded we have scarcely any means of conjecturing, but the traditional history of the Chola dynasty records the disappearance of that race, as independent princes, to have occurred in consequence of the marriage of a Chola princess with Vara-guna Pándyan, whom it calls the forty-eighth Pándya king. In our lists, however, he appears to have been the twenty-second or twenty-ninth, and supposing the union of the Chola and Pándya sovereignties to have been thus effected before the reign of AUGUSTUS, and the number of preceding reigns not very erroneous, we may conjecture the appearance of the Pándya principality as an organised state, and the foundation of Madura to have happened, about five or six centuries anterior to the Christian era.[3] Of the events that have befallen the kingdom during the long period that has since elapsed, very few are attributed to remote times, and of them the authenticity may be

[1] Besides those comprised in the Mackenzie Collection, BUCHANAN has published several. (Travels in Mysore). Some of his and those of this collection are the same, having been procured at the same places.

[2] ELLIS and CAMPBELL. Introduction to CAMPBELL's Telugu Grammar.

[3] It is not improbable that some centuries preceded the foundation of Madura, during which the first settlers were occupied in clearing the ground and erecting habitations, and forming themselves into organised states. According to the Puránas, as estimated by HAMILTON, ten centuries were thus occupied; but this seems to be more than requisite, and perhaps five would be nearer the truth, placing the first establishments in the south about one thousand years before our era.

doubted. Such as they are found, however, in the only records that remain we shall proceed to detail them, omitting the most extravagant fictions, and curtailing the most tedious of those which we select.[1]

According to the *Madura Purána*, the residence of the Pándya kings was for many ages at a place called Kurk'hi, not improbably the Kolkhi of the Periplus, a city subject to the Pándya king, as the author observes, and, perhaps, as D'ANVILLE notices,[2] still to be traced in the appellation Kilkhar, or Kilakarai,[3] on the Coromandel coast, opposite to Rámèswaram. One of the Pándya monarchs, named Sámpanna Pándya, invited the Chola and Chéra princes to

[1] The authority followed in the first part of the ensuing detail is called a translation of the *Madura Purána* (List of Authorities, No. 7); it appears to be a translation of the Tamil work called *Tiruvalaiyádal*, which is also designated sometimes as the *Madura Purána*. This is the work of Paranjoti Tamburan, a Pandaram, or Saiva priest, who is said to have written it in the reign of Hari Víra Pandyan, in the Salivahan year 973 (A.D. 1051). It relates the sixty-four miracles or frolics of Sundaréswara, the tutelary divinity of Madura; and is, in fact, but a translation or paraphrase in Tamil of a Sanskrit local legend, entitled *Hálásya*, said to be a section of the *Skanda Purána*, a source always assigned in the Dekhin to detached local compositions, to which the composers wish to affix the authority of Pauranic sanctity. The Skanda Purána being a Saiva Purána, is the ready resource of that sect, and is made the parent of a much more numerous offspring than legitimately belong to it. The *Hálásya* is of this description; but if the date of its Tamil representative be correctly given, it is of use in fixing that of Kuna Pándya, with whose reign it closes. The collection contains two MSS. professing to be translations of the *Madura Purána*: they do not exactly agree, however; and one is much more brief than the other, whence it is possibly the translation of an abridged work, the abridgement not adhering, with inviolable fidelity, to its original, as is usually the case amongst Hindú writers. The MSS. are Nos. 7 and 8 of the List of Authorities. The account of the work and its author, is from a MS. list of Tamil authors, and the catalogue of Tamil books. Another MS., No. 11, which has been also consulted, is entitled a translation of the Pándya Rájákal; the original of this is a Tamil prose work, sometimes attributed to the three most eminent of the first professors of the Madura college Narakira, Bána, and Kapila. The accuracy of this notion may be questioned, as it rests solely upon the work closing with the reign of Vamsa Churámani, under whom these writers are said to have flourished; and it is contradicted by the tenor of the last sentence, which speaks of the literary institutes first promulgated by, or exemplified by these teachers having been communicated to their disciples, and thus handed down through consecutive generations. The work itself agrees closely with the *Madura Purána*, and is, therefore, probably, as well as it, a branch from the same Sanskrit stem, the *Hálásya Máhát'mya*, which work is also in the collection, and has been compared with the translations.—MACKENZIE Collection, I. p. 91, cxxi.

[2] D'ANVILLE Antiquité Geographique, 122. Also VINCENT's Periplus, ii. 443: the general identity is beyond question by its being then, as now, the scene of the pearl fishing.

[3] See Journal ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, No. V. p. 169.

the wedding of his son. On their way to Kurkhi they were caught by violent rains, and compelled, by the flooded state of the country, to remain encamped on one spot for a month, in memory of which event the Pándya king built a city there, naming it Kalyána-pur, which was for some time the capital of his son and successor, Kula Sék'hara.

Kula Sék'hara, in the commencement of his reign, built a new city about two leagues to the north of Cape Kumari, which he named after himself, Kula Sék'hara Pattan: he resided, however, at Kalyána-púr. It happened that a merchant returning from a journey to Malayálam, or Malabar, lost his way in the forests of Chandragiri, the hilly district west of Madura, and its vicinity. Whilst exploring his track alone he discovered an ancient temple, dedicated to Siva, as the Mula Linga, or Choka Náyaka, and Durga, as Minákshi Amman. The temple had been erected by Indra when performing penance in the Dandaka forest, for the expiation of the sin of murdering Vritrásura, who, although a demon, was a Brahman. The merchant, himself a devout worshipper of Siva, paid his homage to the deity, and was, in consequence, favoured with a personal communication, directing him to announce the discovery to the Rája, and the will of the god, that a city should be founded on the spot. The same injunction was conveyed in a vision to the prince, and the concurrence of these intimations established their divine origin. Kula Sék'hara accordingly repaired to the place, cleared the forest, rebuilt the temple with great architectural magnificence, constructed a splendid palace for the royal residence, and founded an extensive and stately city. The gods beheld the progress of his labours with interest, and, on their completion, a shower of nectareal dew descended from heaven, spreading a sweet film upon the ground, which gave the appellation Madhura (sweet) to the new city. The stately monuments, of which the vestiges are still to be seen in Madura, are the work of much more modern times; but the classical authorities already referred to, establish, for that city, an existence of venerable duration. The gradual transfer of the Pándya capital from a southerly to a more northerly site, is in harmony with the tradition of the country being first cleared and cultivated by pilgrims to Rámeswaram. It may be here observed, that the prevailing form of the Hindú religion in the south of the peninsula was, at the commencement of the Christian era, and some time before it, most probably that of Siva, as, besides the positive testimony of these legends, the name of the cape, Komári, or Kumári, the virgin, is, as a mythological appellative, restricted to Durgá; and that it was in this place a mythological name is proved

by the author of the *Periplus*,[1] who states, that persons purposing to lead a religious and widowed life bathe at Comar, because, as the history relates, a goddess formerly used to perform her ablutions monthly at this spot.

The second Pándya prince is named Malaya Dhwaja, of whom his extreme devotion to the tutelary divinities of his capital is the only peculiarity recorded.[2] In return for his attachment, the goddess Minákshi herself became incarnate as the daughter and the successor of this prince.

Múmulai Tadátaki, the new queen of Madura, was a warlike princess. She subdued, it is said, the whole of the peninsula, and carried her arms over northern Hindústan to the Kailása mountains. Here her victorious career terminated in an event more glorious than her preceding triumphs. She was opposed by no less a person than the god Siva, by whom she was defeated and taken prisoner. It was now her turn to vanquish: the god became enamoured of her charms and allowed her to return in liberty to Madura, whither he followed her and obtained her hand.[3] Having assumed a human form of great beauty, the god was known by the title Sundara (the handsome)

[1] Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐστὶν ἕτερος τόπος τὸ Κομὰρ λεγόμενον· ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ φρούρια ἐστὶν, καὶ λιμήν· εἰς ὃν οἱ βουλόμενοι τὸν μέλλοντα αὐτοῖς χρόνον ἱεροὶ γενέσθαι, χῆροι μένουσιν αὐτοῦ, ἐκεῖ ἐρχόμενοι ἀπολούονται, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ γυναῖκες· ἱστορεῖται γὰρ τὴν θεὸν ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ μῆνας κατά τινα χρόνον ἐκεῖ ἀπολελοῦσθαι.

PAOLINO says, the convent and the custom still existed in his time.—VINCENT PERIPLUS, ii. 443. See, also, VIAGGIO DI FRA BARTOLOMEO.

[2] The traditions of the south, however, make him a more important character, and consider him as the father of Chitrángadá, the wife of Arjuna. This opinion is grounded on a section of the Sabhá Parvan of the Mahábhárat, where Sahadeva, whilst performing his military career in the Dekhin, is described as having an interview with his father-in-law Malaya Dhwaja, king of Pándya. This section, however, is perhaps peculiar to the copies of the Mahábhárat, current in the Peninsula, as it has no place in a fine copy in Devanagari character, in my possession. In the first chapter, too, it is there said that the father of Chitrángadá is Chitraváhana, king of Manipur, to which Arjuna comes on leaving Kalinga. The Telugu translation of the Adi Parvan agrees in the names of the parties, but places Manipur south of the Kávéri. How far, therefore, it is safe to identify Malaya Dhwaja with Chitraváhana, and Manipur with Madhura, must depend upon the verification of the authenticity of different copies of the Mahábhárat. The result of a careful collation of seven copies at Benares, examined at my request by Captain Fell, may be regarded as fatal to the identification, not one of them containing the section in question, or the name of Malaya Dhwaja. The Bhágavat calls the bride of Arjuna, Ulúpí, the daughter of the serpent king of Manipura.

[3] The legend relates, that the princess was born with three breasts; the centre one was to disappear when she met with a suitable spouse, and, accordingly, vanished upon her encountering Sundaréswara. Images of the goddess, with three breasts, are still seen amongst the sculptures at Madura.

Pándyan; and although it does not appear how he attained the privilege of giving a cognomen to the emblem of himself, worshipped in Madura, yet the Múla Linga is most commonly known by the name of Sundaréswara, the god of Sundara, which it shares with that of Choka Náyaka.

That this tradition is not wholly without foundation is established by several circumstances, if we look to its implied rather than to its literal import. It is not improbable that the worship of Siva was introduced into the peninsula from northern Hindústan some few centuries before the Christian era, and that, in the reign of one of the early princes of Madura, it was established in that city. The tradition which peoples the peninsula from the north of India, and the existence of the Saiva faith there, coeval with the era of Christianity, are fully in harmony with the account given of Sundara Pándyan. In further confirmation of the native country whence the Tamil faith was derived, it may be observed that Sanskrit, which, in Drávira Désa, as in every other Hindú country, is the language of religion, is always called by Tamil writers Vádá Mozhi,[1] the northern speech, and, finally, the learned writer from whom the remark is taken, observes, that the literature and religion of the Brahmans were brought by them into the peninsula from northern Hindústán.[2] Whether this occurred at so early a period as the one now under discussion may be doubted, although some of the circumstances we have adverted to are in favour of the supposition. That there are, on the other hand, reasonable bounds to its antiquity cannot be disputed; for, besides the inference derivable from the traditions relative to the colonisation of the peninsula, we have the testimony of Menu,[3] that the Draviras were classed with the impure, or outcast tribes, when those institutes were compiled; and, even in the Mahábhárat, the people of the southern countries appear to be considered as scarcely Hindús.

Sundara and Minákshi, after a reign of some thousands of years, resumed their celestial characters, and returned to heaven. They were succeeded by their son, Wugra Pándyan, who, as the offspring of Siva and Dévi, was, of course, an incarnation of Kártikéya. Eastward of Madura is the mountain Tiruparumkunru,[4] whence fell a

[1] Ellis's Dissertation on Malayalam, p. 3, note.

[2] Ibid. p. 26. [3] Book x. 5.

[4] The most famous place under this appellation, Subrahmanya Kshetram, or Tirt'ha, is in the province of Canara. A hill to the south of Madura, denominated, from ideas connected with this superstition, Skanda Malai, the Mount of Skanda, another name of Kártikéya, or Subrahmanya, has suffered a very curious change, Skanda Malai being converted into Sicander Malai, the hill of Secander, or Alexander. Les naturels croient que le médecin ordinaire d'Alexander le Grand y a

stream, named Sarovara Vaikál. Agreeably to the system of local adaptation which seems to have especially prevailed in the Dekhin, and which transferred the names of sacred places in the north of India to others in the south, this mountain became another Kailása, and the stream, another Ganges. The scene and chief actors being thus identified, we are not to be surprised that the birth of Wugra should have been here attended with the circumstances narrated by the Puránas of the birth of Skanda, or Kártikéya, and that this site acquired the honours of a Tirt'ha, or place of pilgrimage, under the presidence of Subrahmanya,[1] another name of Kártikeya, who was, from a remote date, a favourite deity with the nations of the peninsula.

Wugra Pándyan, being of such exalted origin, was engaged in conflicts proportioned to his rank, and, after subduing the kings of earth, waged war against the king of heaven. Indra, being discomfited by him, was compelled to grant the showers which he had forborne to shed upon the Pándya kingdom. Wugra was married to Kántimati, the daughter of the Chola king, and by her he had Víra Pándyan, who succeeded him.[2]

Víra Pándyan was killed, whilst hunting, by a tiger: he left many sons by the women of his household, and one, the youngest, by his queen, whom the ministers placed under the tutelage of the Chola monarch, to secure him from the treachery of his elder brothers. When old enough he was conducted to Madura, and installed; upon which, his brothers fled to Chera; they do not seem to have given him any subsequent molestation. This prince was named Abhishéka Pándyan; he was succeeded by Vikrama, of whom no traditions are given; and he by Rájá Sekhara,[3] in the time of which latter, it is said, the Chola prince led an army of Samánals, or Buddhists, against Madura. He was defeated; but no consequences of his repulse are recorded. The next sovereign of Pándya-désa is named Kulottunga,

été enterré. LANGLÈS, ii. 11. A native account says it is the tomb of Alexander himself; an idea, no doubt, introduced by the Mohammadan Fakirs, of whom many reside on this hill, and attach a profitable sanctity to the small tomb, once a temple of Skanda, now the shrine of Secander. To the Hindús it is equally sacred, as it is said to contain in one of its caves an image of Skanda, which they go to worship.

[1] This appears, however, from some accounts, to be the same as Skanda Malai (MS. No. 80), which is three or four miles south-east of Madura.

[2] One account, the Rájá Cheritra, vol. vi., makes great confusion with this prince and his predecessors. It calls him Alaka, and makes him the father of Minakshi, married to Chokanath, and of Alyarasani, married to Arjuna. At the same time he is described as the son of Malaya Dhwaja, and grandson of Sundara, an order of descent very different from all the other authorities.

[3] All the lists agree in inserting Vikrama's name. The translation of the *Tiruvaleyádal* omits him making Rájá Sek'hara the son of Abhisheka.

in whose reign we have abundant legends illustrative of the might of Choka Nátha, but nothing that can be conjectured into history. He was succeeded by his son, Anantaguna, in whose reign the kingdom was again invaded by the Samanál; but, with the aid of Siva, the assailants were repulsed. On this, as on the former occasion, the heretical invaders are conducted by the Chola monarch, whose seat of empire is called Kánchí, or Conjeveram. That the territories of the Chola prince lay higher north than the modern Tanjore there is probable evidence in other manuscripts, as, also, that Conjeveram was included within his dominions. That it was the ancient capital of Chola is, however, quite irreconcilable with all the local accounts which have been procured of that empire, and the foundation of Kánchí itself appears from them to be an event of comparatively recent occurrence. The same accounts, however corroborated by the vestiges of Bauddha architecture, found still abundantly at Conjeveram, attest the prevalence of that faith there for some considerable period. This might have been the case at the time the legendary tales which profess to record the Pándya history were compiled; and hence, these supposed religious aggressions emanating from the Chola monarchs of Conjeveram. That frequent contests between the Chola and Pándya princes occurred in remote periods there is no reason to doubt; but it is not quite so certain that the particular occasions are specified with much accuracy, or that hostilities, embittered by religious differences, disturbed the tranquillity of the Dekhin some centuries before the Christian era.

Ánantaguna was succeeded by his son, Kula Bhúshana, in whose reign, it is said, in the Pándya Rájákal, that the Pándya kingdom was invaded by Kiráta Rájá, sovereign of Chédí, but it can scarcely be supposed, that by this is intended the country usually identified with Chédi, or Chandail, in central Hindústán. The appellation, Kiráta, assigned to the Rájá, indicates a mountaineer, the wild inhabitant of thickets and fastnesses, subsisting by plunder and the chase; and in the Tiruvaleyádal, the invader is designated with more consistency, as the Sétu Raya, the prince of Marawa, the district lying east of Madura along the sea-coast, and which would, therefore, appear to have been an independent principality in ancient as well as modern times. The minister, Sundara Sumantra, had been provided with funds to levy a force to oppose the invaders, but he appropriated the money to the worship of Sundaréswara, and the invaders had nearly reached Madura before any troops were collected to resist them. In this predicament the minister had recourse to the god, and a miraculous host, representing the contingents of the fifty-

six kingdoms of India, was immediately created for the defence of the kingdom. Against such combatants no chance of success remained for the invaders, but Kiráta, or the Marawa Rájá, was removed even without their aid. He was killed by a lion sent by Siva,[1] and, upon his death, his followers fled in confusion to their native haunts. The result of this invasion was, therefore, only an accession of honour and devotion to Sundaréswara and Minákshi-Dévi.

In the reign of this prince another marvel is recorded, which merits notice only so far as it accords with the general traditions of the origin of Conjeveram. Kántára Kháta Chola is said to have cleared the woods which covered that part of the peninsula; built the city of Kánchí on the site; and erected the pavilion and temple of Ekámbaréswara and Kámákshi-Dévi, the forms in which Siva and Durgá were worshipped at that city until very recent periods. In recompense of this prince's devotion, Siva conferred upon him aerial locomotion with the speed of thought, and thus enabled him to transport himself every morning to Madura, to pay his homage at the supreme shrine of Sundaréswara — a rather indifferent compliment to his own tutelary divinity.

Kula Bhúshana left two sons, Rájendra and Rájasinha, of whom the first succeeded to the throne. The Chola prince of Kánchí, Kantára Kháta, or, as he is named in the Madura Purána, Kandavetti, proposed an alliance with Rájendra, by giving him his daughter in marriage, to which the Pándya prince assented, and sent his brother, Rájásinha, to conclude the negociation with the Chola prince. The ambassador, however, prevailed upon that monarch to wed his daughter to him instead of his brother, and to co-operate with him in an attempt to drive Rájendra from the throne. The confederate princes marched towards Madura for that purpose; but they were encountered by the Pándya king, defeated, and taken prisoners. Rájásinha was detained in confinement during the rest of his life, but the Chola monarch was released and dismissed with civility to his own dominions.

Saundarya Páda Sek'hara, the son of Rajendra, succeeded his father. Like his predecessors, he is said to have been engaged in hostilities with the Chola monarch; and, whatever we may think of the circumstantial details of these repeated conflicts, it seems not at all improbable that a struggle for supremacy in the peninsula did

[1] The scene of this event is laid by the *Tiruvaleyádal*, in the forest Tirupúvanam, at a place dedicated to Siva, as Purána-lingam, ten miles south of Madura.

exist, at a remote date and for a long period, between these rival dynasties, which terminated in the temporary ascendency of the Pándya monarchs. On this occasion it is related, that the Pándya king was forced to fly before his invaders, but their prince was drowned in the pursuit of his defeated foes, and the kingdom of Madura was thus preserved from foreign subjugation. Of course, the accident was not a mere casualty, but was brought about by the seasonable interference of the tutelary deities of Madura. Saundarya Páda died soon after his return to his capital, or, as it is said of every Pándya prince, he went into the *adytum*, or inner chamber, of the temple of Múla Linga, and was united to the god. If we do not suppose that this was a contrivance of the priests to get rid of those princes of whom they were tired, or with whom they were dissatisfied, we must conclude the ceremony to have been part of the religious institutes of the kingdom, and that the princes and persons of note were carried to the temple, to die in the presence of the tutelary gods, in the same spirit as that which, in Upper Hindústán, conveys the expiring individual to breathe his last upon the banks of the Ganges.

Varaguna, the son of the last prince, succeeded. His reign contains the usual proportion of marvels; but nothing of a historical character in the authorities hitherto followed. This omission is the more remarkable, as the Chola records ascribe the disappearance of the series of their princes to the transfer of the kingdom to Varaguna, by his marriage with a Chola princess, as has been noticed above;[1] and the union of the two principalities under a common sovereign appears to have actually occurred about the period at which this prince may possibly have reigned. The fact is supported by another authority, however, and a cheritra, or history of Varaguna,[2] states his repulsion of an invasion by the Chola king, Karávar Chola, his subsequent conquest of that kingdom, and its annexation to the Pándya monarchy. A celebrated poet, named Bána, or Pána-patra, is said to have flourished in this prince's reign.

Vara Rájá, or Rájá Rajendra, succeeded Varaguna. In his reign a ridiculous legend is narrated, which so far merits recapitulation, that traces of it are frequent in the sculptures still visible at Madura.

[1] According to the *Chola Désa Púrvika Charitra Vyakhyanam*, Váraguna was the son of Balachandra Pándyan. His wife was the daughter of Kulottunga Chola. Their descendants occupied the united Pándya and Chola kingdoms, for twelve generations and five hundred and seventy years.

[2] List, No. 13.

At Kuruvaituri, west of Madura, a rich farmer had twelve sons, who spent their time in various sports, and especially in the chase. They one day attacked a wild hog and his family, killed some, and pursued the rest to the vicinity of a holy sage engaged in profound meditation. Having disturbed the abstraction of the sage, he cursed them, denouncing their future birth as hogs themselves. On their humiliation, however, and earnest prayers for forgiveness, he so far modified his imprecation as to make the temporary degradation the means of future honour and fame.

The twelve youths being reborn in their porcine capacity, lost their tender parents by the spears of Rájá Rájendra and his fellow-sportsmen, whilst they were yet too young to provide for their own subsistence. Their pitiful state moved the compassion of Choka Náyaka and Minákshi Amman, who happened to be in the forest during the chase, and they determined to act as the parents of the porkers. Minákshi officiated as their nurse, in which character figures of her occur, and Choka Náyaka as their tutor. One effect of this divine protection was to humanise their bodies, so that they became men with the heads of pigs, in which combination their statues are sculptured.[1] Another consequence of their fortunate destiny was their deriving from their preceptor profound conversancy with arts, sciences, and letters, and their consequent advancement to the ministerial administration of the affairs of the Pándya kingdom.

The reign of Rájá Rájendra is followed by an interval which is imperfectly filled up in most of the authorities by a mere string of names. The enumeration does not exactly agree in all cases; but in those which are the most authentic, it appears to extend to twenty-four or twenty-five princes. If we allow twenty years to a reign, and admit the accuracy of the enumeration, we should place the prince who succeeds these shadows in the second century of the Christian era: at the same time, as the data are altogether insufficient, it is obvious, that any conclusions advanced must be subjected to a considerable latitude, and that, consequently, the real date of Vamsa Sek'hara's accession cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. It is quite sufficient to bring it within some moderate limits, and to place it not only upon this computation, but on various other grounds, in the early centuries of our era.

[1] They are described as occurring in Tirumalla Náyak's *Choltri*, by Mr. BLACKADER, Archæologia, vol. x. 457; and his description is translated in LANGLÈS' Monumens de l'Hindoustan. Instead of ministers, however, Mr. BLACKADER calls them princes of the palace; and M. LANGLÈS converts them into *huissiers de la chambre*.

At whatever period it may have occurred, the accession of Vamsa Sek'hara seems to have been the result of some political disorganisation of the Pándya kingdom, as the different authorities concur in considering him as the founder of a new dynasty. The *Madura Purána* describes him as the first prince who reigned after the recovery of Pándyam from the waters which had deluged the world, and as receiving from Múla Linga, instructions for the readjustment of the limits of the kingdom; in which latter account the different authorities concur. They also agree in representing him as the founder of the fort and palace of Madura, of various temples and public buildings, and as the restorer or enlarger of the ancient city. It is not improbable, that the extensive remains of these buildings still in existence, and calculated by their massiveness to defy the unassisted effects of time, are, in part, relics of the works of Vamsa Sek'hara. The fort of Madura is at present about three miles and three-quarters[1] in circumference, and includes the ruins of the palace, the temple of Choka Nát'h, and the Choltri of Tirumalla Náyaka. The latter is a modern building: and the same period witnessed considerable additions to the palace, which, probably, occasioned the mixture of Indian and Saracenic architecture observed by Daniel; as, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the latter seems to have been introduced from Persia by the Mogul emperors, and engrafted upon the square and massive, although florid, style, which may be regarded as exclusively Indian. This style is evident in the pagoda of Choka Nát'h and its adjoining arcades, and bears testimony to their claims to very respectable antiquity. Vamsa Sek'hara is said to have also re-established, or possibly he introduced, the practice of carrying the god abroad, on particular festivals, in large cars magnificently ornamented, and dragged by the people.[2]

The reign of Vamsa Sek'hara was also distinguished by an event which led to important consequences to the literature of the Peninsula, and which is one reason for placing his reign in the earlier ages of Christianity. This was the foundation of a College at Madura, for the cultivation, it would appear, of profane literature and the Tamil language. The different authorities agree in this account, dividing the merit of the act between Vamsa Sek'hara, and his son and successor, Vamsa Churámani, also called Champaka, who, probably, completed what his father only commenced.

[1] HAMILTON's India, vol. ii. p. 469.

[2] Le Père BOUCHET au Père ***, Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xiii. p. 126; BLACKADER, Archæologia, vol. x.; DANIEL's Oriental Scenery; and LANGLÈS' Monumens de l'Hindoustan, vol. ii.

The professors of the Madura college were at first forty-eight in number, called the *sangattár*, or assembly. The chief of these were Narakíra,[1] Bána, and Kapila, of whom no works remain. These received instructions in the *Sútras*, or rules, of the Dravira language, it is said, from the god Siva himself, who appeared amongst them as the forty-ninth professor, and enabled them to expound and propagate the primitive institutes of the language, which are invariably attributed in the Dekhin to the Muni Agastya. The cultivation of the Tamil language, as has been noticed above, is supposed by Mr. Ellis to have preceded that of Sanskrit in the south; and this would be a circumstance in favour of the early existence of the *sangattár*, for it could not have been long after the Christian era that the fables of Northern India were domesticated in the Peninsula. However, the opinion evidently is correct only within certain limits. The Sanskrit language, in prayers, hymns, and legends, must have accompanied the introduction of the Saiva faith anterior to the Christian era, and must have been cultivated as far as it was connected with religion. Its profane literature, and even its Pauranic mythology, may have subsequently become objects of study; and they apparently superseded the cultivation of the native tongue, till the eighth or ninth century after Christianity, when its revival was effected, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.

The prominent figure which Agastya is thus made to assume in the literary history of the south of India, attaches an interest to his existence which, it is to be apprehended, will scarcely derive much satisfaction from the accounts of this sage which are recorded. In the first place, a high antiquity must be assigned to him on the authority of the *Rámáyana*, the oldest work, after the *Vedas*, perhaps, in the Sanskrit language. His migration to the south is there detailed;[2] and, disregarding the fabulous motives assigned for his residence there, it seems not a forced conjecture to infer his being a chief agent in diffusing the worship of *Siva* in the Dekhin. Neither this remote date, nor his character as a foreigner, renders it likely that he was the first Tamil teacher; and if we are not allowed to suppose that this character originated in his legendary reputation, we must conclude that the author of the various works attributed to Agastya

[1] I have already observed the *Pándya-Rájákál* is ascribed to them, apparently erroneously. To Narakíra is assigned the tale of *Alakésa*, or king of Alaká, and his four ministers; but the style is unfavourable to its supposed origin,—Tamil works being difficult in proportion to their antiquity, so that the oldest are now unintelligible to ordinary scholars.—Kindersley's Hindú Literature, p. 47.

[2] In the Aranya Kándam.

was a different individual, although of similar name. There are still many works current attributed to Agastya, besides his grammatical aphorisms. These consist of poems in praise of Siva, and a number of medical works.[1] It is not very probable, however, that the appropriation is generally correct.[2] At the first institution of the Madura *sangattár*, it would appear that some dispute arose immediately between the professors and the Saiva priests, connected, not impossibly, with that contention for pre-eminence of knowledge which has ever prevailed in the Tamil countries between the Brahman and inferior castes.[3] The priests, however, proved the more powerful; and a reconciliation took place between them and the literati of Madura. At least, we may thus interpret the legend of Narakira incurring the wrathful glance of Siva, and only escaping being burnt to ashes in the flames emanating from the eye in the forehead of the god by plunging into the holy pool Pattamári, and there composing the Andádi Pányam, a poem in honour of Siva. After this event the parties continued upon good terms; and Siva presented to the professors a diamond bench of great critical sagacity, for it extended itself readily for the accommodation of such individuals as were worthy to be upon a level with the sages of the *sañgattár*, and resolutely detruded all who pretended to sit upon it without possessing the requisite qualifications. In other words, the learned corporation of Madura resembled learned bodies in other countries, and maintained as strict a monopoly as they possibly could of literary reputation.

[1] One of these, the *Agastyar Vaidya Anguru*, is cited by Dr. AINSLIE, Preface to the Materia Medica of Hindústán.

[2] In a manuscript account of Agastya, in the Collection, List, No. 14, thirty-eight works attributed to him are said to be still current. His grammar is, however, said to be lost, in consequence of a curse denounced upon it by Tulagappyam, the disciple of Agastya, according to some legends. In a MS. written by an intelligent native, and already referred to under the title of *Chola Púrvika Charitra Vyákhyanan*, it is said, that the reputed invention of the Tamil language by Agastya is very improbable, as, in the medical works uniformly ascribed to him, the style indicates a very confined possession of the language; and as to the *Agastyam*, or Grammatical Institutes, said to be lost, there is little reason to suppose it was ever written, as least by Agastya, as he never mentions it, although he states in his *Gnyánam*, or work on theology, that he has written a lack of sentences on theology, an equal number on alchemy, and two lacks on medicine. These inferences are scarcely questionable, as applied to an Agastya of, perhaps, the eighth or ninth century; but the traditions that ascribe the introduction of letters and religion amongst the people of Drávira to an earlier teacher of that name, do not seem to have originated wholly in imagination.

[3] ELLIS on the Málayálam Language, p. 26.

The foreign transactions of Vamsa Sek'hara's reign were limited to a war with Vikrama, the Chola prince, who besieged Madura, but was repulsed with the aid of Siva. The son of this prince was more fortunate; and he was engaged in disputes of no more serious a nature than those which were engendered by the rivalry of his literary dependents.

From Vamsa Churámani,[1] we have again a considerable interval without the specification of events as well as names, until the reign of Kuna Pándyan. There are, however, one or two legends which are variously appropriated, and which may, therefore, be employed to fill up the chasm.

The fifteenth prince from Vamsa Churámani is called in the lists Kulása, who was also a patron of literature, and a man of letters himself. This latter character induced him to treat a man of great acquirements, named Yeddakattan, with disrespect. Yeddakattan complained to the deity Sundaréswara, and, withdrawing from Madura to the north of the Vaiki river, was followed by the god, and by the professors of the college. This desertion bringing the king to a sense of his improper conduct, he had recourse to prayer and solicitation, and appeased the offended god, and the more irritable poet; and the temple and college recovered their inmates.

Kulása was succeeded by his son Arimerddana, celebrated for his illustrious minister Mánikyavásaka, who was especially instrumental in re-establishing the Saiva worship, and expelling the Bauddhas. The authority of that MS. which appears to be the abridged *Madura Purána*, associates this minister and this king; but the larger work relates the marvels usually narrated of Mánikyavásaka, of Tennaven Paramaráya, minister of Vamsa Sek'hara, identifying these two persons. There can be little doubt, however, that Mánikyavásaka, whether he were a political character at all, was long subsequent to Vamsa Sek'hara; and it is only a question, how much more modern he may be regarded. He is anterior, it appears, to the reformers of Kuna Pándyan's reign, by the testimony of both our authorities and others, of which one places him A.D. 490, and another states his work to have been written above a thousand years ago.[2] In his life, it is particularly stated that the sectaries he combated were Bauddhas, not

[1] With whom the *Pándya Rájakál* closes, as observed above. So does the translation of the *Tiruvaleyádal*; but the original descends to Kuna Pándyan, as does the *Hálásya*, filling up the interval, however, with mere names. MS., No. 8, gives the substance of their contents.

[2] Life of Mánikyavásaka, MSS. No. 15; List of Tamil Authors, MSS. No. 9; Vadur Sthala Máhátmyam; Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. 201.

Jains, who were the heretics of Kuna Pándyan's reign; and these concurrent considerations warrant the inference, that he may be placed with safety between the fifth and eighth century of the Christian era. We need not detail the marvels recorded of him, as that has been fully and correctly done by a European writer already.[1] His works, which are said to be very difficult, are the *Tiruvásagam* and *Tiruchittambala-kavi*, poems in praise of the Saiva worship.[2] The scene of his contest with the Bauddhas was at the temple of Chidambaram, and his opponents chiefly teachers from Ceylon,[3] the king of which country, it is said, was present at the controversy. The Bauddha disputants, it is asserted, were converted to the orthodox faith, and no persecution appears to have ensued.

Another barren series of names occurs between Arimerddana and Kuna Pándyan, who appears as the twelfth successor of that monarch. According to some traditions, the date of Kuna Pándyan is called 950 of Salivahana, or A.D. 1028;[4] but there are several reasons for supposing this to be erroneous. The *Madura Purána*, and its original, the *Hálásya Máhátmya*, come down to the end of this prince's reign; and they are attributed to the reign of Hari Vira Pándyan, in 973, giving an interval of but twenty-three years for their composition, and for the bold assertion of marvels which it could not be supposed they would venture to advance at a period so close to the realities thus distorted. Either their date, therefore, is erroneous, or that of Kuna Pándyan is incorrect; but there is every reason to suppose they are not much misplaced, as the zeal of the Saiva priests and writers to whom these and other compositions of the same period are evidently to be assigned, was, no doubt, particularly active in and about the ninth century. Again, the chief instrument in the religious revolutions of the Pándya state that occurred in this reign was a Saiva priest, Gnyána Samandar,[5] whose works, and those of his first converts and disciples, Appa and Sundar, are well known in the south, and are uniformly referred to the ninth century;[6] whence it follows that we must place Kuna Pándyan about that time. The date derives some confirmation from its agreement

[1] SONNERAT'S Voyages.

[2] Account of Tamil Works, No. 9; and List of Tamil Authors, No. 10.

[3] Life of Mánikyavásaka. [4] List of Tamil Authors, No. 10.

[5] WILKS, on the Authority of a MS. in the Mackenzie Collection, calls him a Pándaram, or Sudra priest of Siva (vol. i. p. 156). This does not appear, however, from any of the MSS. consulted on the present occasion. Gnyána Samandar Charitra, Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. 203, App. xix.

[6] They are joint authors of the *Tévaram*, hymns in honour of Siva.

with the period when the Jain religion, of which Kuna Pándyan was a votary, had grown into credit in the neighbouring regions.[1]

Whatever may have been the date of this prince, it appears that prior to his reign two events of some importance had occurred in the Pándya kingdom, which are, not improbably, connected, although the connexion is not adverted to in any of the native accounts. These are the abolition of the *sangattár*, or Madura college, and the establishment of the Samanal religion.

The abolition of the *sangattár* is narrated in the usual marvellous manner.[2] A candidate for the honour of a seat on the bench of professors, appeared in the person of Tiruvalavar, a Pariah priest of Mailapur,[3] and the author of an ethical poem. The learned professors were highly indignant at his presumption, but, as he was patronised by the rájá, they were compelled to give his book at least the trial. For this purpose it was to find a place upon the marvellous bench, which the professors took care to occupy fully. To their astonishment, however, the bench extended itself to receive the work, and the book itself commencing to expand, spread out so as to thrust all other occupants from the bench. The rájá and the people of Madura witnessed the scene, and enjoyed the humiliation of the sages; and the professors were so sensible of their disgrace, that, unable to survive it, they issued forth, and all drowned themselves in a neighbouring pool. In consequence the establishment was abandoned.

If we contemplate this event in a literary view alone, we need not be at a loss to understand it. The first professors were eminent in Tamil composition, for the cultivation of which the college appears to have been founded. The members, however, had subsequently, in all probability, directed their attention more to Sanskrit composition, and had, at all events, neglected the cultivation of their native literature. That the latter was the case, is evident from the remark of Avayar, that the old Tamil was preferable to the new;[4] indicating that, even in the ninth century, the dialect had been so far neglected as to have become partially obsolete. With Tiruvalavar, however, circumstances changed. The old system was subverted, and a new impulse was given to the study of Tamil, which produced, in the

[1] The earliest Jaina inscriptions of an authentic character that have been found are those of kings of Húmchi, dated Salivahana 804, 819, 820, &c. To them succeed the grants of the Belal kings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

[2] Account of the Madura Sangattár, vol. 16.

[3] St. Thomé. Possibly, therefore, something of an attempt to propagate Christianity is here blunderingly and imperfectly narrated.

[4] Asiatic Researches, vol. vii.; Dr. JOHN on the Life and Writings of Avayar.

course of the ninth century, in the Pándya and Chola kingdoms, a number of the most classical writers in the Tamil tongue.[1]

The date at which the subversion of the college occurred, is another subject of inquiry, and, if we trust to the tradition which connects it with Tiruvalavar, we must identify it with the period of his existence. Other legends make him a brother of *Avayar;* but, as this family story is altogether fabulous,[2] no stress need be laid upon the assertion. The MS. list of Tamil authors states his work to be 1600 years old; and Mr. KINDERSLEY, who has translanted a prose version of part of it,[3] mentions that the original is understood to have been written fourteen hundred years ago. He also notices the extreme difficulty of the style, from which a high antiquity may be inferred; and, from these considerations, we may conclude that the age of Tiruvalavar may have been between the sixth and ninth centuries.

As far we can judge from the extracts of the *Kadal*, which have been translated, we have some reason to suppose that their author was not a very orthodox member of the Hindú faith. He appears to have advocated moral duties and practical virtues above ceremonial observances and speculative devotion, and so far trespassed upon the strict law. By his allusions to the heaven of Indra, and to various parts of the regular pantheon, as well as the respect he inculcates to Brahmans and ascetics, he does not appear to have been a seceder or a sectary. How far, therefore, he contributed to the introduction of the Jain, or Bauddha faith, into the Madura monarchy, may be doubted, although the diffusion of his doctrines was calculated to undermine the Brahmanical system. At any rate, it is agreed that the kings of Madura had adopted sectarial principles, and that Kuna Pandyan was a follower of the Samanal doctrines, intending by those the Jain faith; although the term will apply also to that of Buddha, with which there is equal reason to identify it.

Some traditions assert that this heresy was introduced from Ceylon. In that case it was the faith of the Bauddhas. The same also aver, that when the heretics were banished they were exiled to that island,—a legend leading to the same conclusion. On the other hand, the expulsion of the Bauddhas from India appears to have been the work of earlier periods, whilst the remaining records of the kings of

[1] As Gnyána Samandar; Appa and Sundara, above noticed; Avayar herself, and Kamban, the translator of the *Rámáyan*.

[2] It is detailed at length by Dr. JOHN.

[3] Extracts from the *Tiruvalavar Kadal*, or *Ocean of Tiruvalavar*.—KINDERSLEY's Hindú Literature. See also Extracts from the same, or *Tiruvalavar Koral*, by Mr. ELLIS; Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. 232.

Húmchi, and the Belal princes, shew that in Mysore the Jain religion was established at this period; and at Madura, the first converts of Gnyána Samandar are usually considered to have been Jaina authors. We may, therefore, consent to call the religion of Kuna Pándyan, Jaina; but the truth seems to be, that neither Jaina nor Bauddha doctrines ever gained an extensive footing in the southern divisions of the Peninsula, which have maintained from the earliest to the latest periods an undeviating fidelity to the worship of Siva and the Lingam.[1]

Kuna Pándyan was married to Váni Daswani the daughter of the Chola Rájá, who was a devout worshipper of Siva.[2] She invited Gnyana Samandar, a famous teacher of her sect, to Madura, and an opportunity soon occurred of gaining for him the countenance of the Rájá Kuna, who was attacked by a fever which resisted the drugs and spells of his Jaina priests. Gnyána Samandar undertook his cure, engaging to make his success a test of the superiority of his religion. His opponents accepted the challenge; and the medical skill of the Saiva surpassing their expectations, they found themselves vanquished. Attributing the success of Gnyána Samandar to magic, they proposed other tests, to which he readily agreed. Leaves, with the sacred texts of their respective parties were thrown into the Vaiki, under a stipulation that the sect should triumph whose *mantra* floated upwards against the current. The Saiva charm prevailed: it ascended the river to a place called Tiruvedaka, where Siva, in the form of an old man, took it out of the water, and brought it back to Gnyána Samandar. In commemoration of the event, a city was founded on the spot to which the leaf was borne, and a temple was

[1] Some of the traditions of the Jainas assert, that Chamunda Raya, who erected the image of Gomatéswara, was minister of Raksha Malla, a king of Madura, in the year of Kali 600. This account is rendered suspicious by the antiquity of the date, even if we suppose the Kali, or fifth age of the Jainas, to be intended, by which the date will be reduced to about thirty years B.C. Besides, in the published account of this place and image by Colonel MACKENZIE, the country of the minister and king is not mentioned (A. R. vol. ix. p. 262), except in a general way, as lying in the south. Chamunda Raya, in another place, is called a king of one of the Chola or Belala races (p. 246). There is nothing in the local traditions of Madura to warrant the assertion. The princes of the name of Malla, it may be observed, reigned in the Carnatic and Mysore in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and an inscription of a grant by Raksha Malla, printed in the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. ix.), is dated Sal. 1090, or A.D. 1173 (p. 431).

[2] In an account of the Gopuram of the Bauddha temple at Púdcovaily, this lady is named Mengayakarasi, and called the daughter of Kerikála Chola, who ruled, it is said, A.D. 478.

erected by the king to Tiruvedaka Nát'h. The Samanal were persecuted and hanged, or banished, to the number of eight thousand. Kuna Pándyan, who before his conversion was deformed, as his name implies (Kuna meaning "hunch-backed"), no sooner received the initiatory *mantra* of the Saiva faith, than he became erect and straight, and thenceforth assumed the name of Sundara (the "handsome") Pándyan. Gnyána Samandar was established as the chief pontiff of the religious faith which he had restored; and he seems to have instituted a peculiar hierarchy which still subsists, several convents being found in the south of India tenanted by Brahmacháris, or cœnobites, of the Saiva persuasion, whose spiritual head bears the hereditary title of "Gnyáni Siva Áchárí."[1] The chief and primitive establishment of the order is said to have been founded at Tinnivelly, but it has since been destroyed. It is asserted, that there have been one hundred and thirteen successions of the chiefs of this religious order; a series which would reasonably allow a period of ten or eleven centuries since its first establishment, and so far corroborates the view of Kuna Pándyan's date in the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era.[2]

The approximation thus made to modern times, is not attended with any great improvement in historical precision. The great outline is clear enough, but the details continue imperfect. In the ninth and tenth centuries, the Chola princes extended their power throughout a great portion of the Peninsula, and overshadowed the splendour of the neighbouring kingdom of Pándya. To them succeeded the Belala princes of Mysore, before whose ascendency the ancient honours of Pándya, and the later glories of Chola disappeared. The decline of the Belalas failed to restore the older dynasties to their pristine authority, as, during the period of their depression, the provinces and chieftainships, once attached to these states, had taken advantage of their

[1] Account of the Gnyana Siva Áchárís, MSS. No. 17. Colonel WILKS, as observed before, identifies these with the Pándarams, or Jangamas, but this is very questionable. They do not seem to be known as a religious order above the Ghats. In the Carnatic the name has been adopted within the last fifty years, I understand, by a set of Saiva teachers, who officiate as the priests of the blacksmith caste.

[2] Mons. LANGLÈS (Monumens de l'Hindoustan, vol. i. p. 98) observes of Kuna Pándyan, that his expulsion of the Samaneans must have happened after the middle of the twelfth century. His authority is the History of the Danish Missions; and the grounds of the estimate are not stated. The same work says Kuna Pándyan was the three hundred and fifty-ninth king of a dynasty of three hundred and sixty-two; it seems, therefore, that the compilers of the Danish History, have had no better guides than those we have access to, and that, consequently, no particular weight attaches to their deductions.

weakness to assume independence. This disorganised condition of the southern states was perpetuated by the confusion and alarm incident upon the Mohammedan aggressions which began in the fourteenth century, and which were followed close by the extended dominion of the Vijayanagar kings, whose officers finally established themselves, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, in the seat of the Pándya monarchs. Their history has been recorded with something like accuracy and consistency, and sheds a ray of light upon the close of the Madura chronicles. But, before we particularise the events ascribed to these princes, we must advert to the transactions which fill up, however imperfectly, the interval between the reign of Kuna Pándyan and supremacy of the Náyaks of Madura.

According to one authority, which brings down the Pándya history from the earliest to the latest periods,[1] the first series of monarchs, consisting of seventy-two princes, was followed by another of twelve, with the last of whom, Kodocola Pándyan, the succession of Pándya princes of the ancient royal family, ceased. According to the legend, this king unjustly condemned to death a merchant of Congeveram, whom business had brought to Madura. Upon hearing of his fate his wife followed him to that city, where, ascending a funeral pile, she denounced an imprecation upon the place and its sovereign. In consequence of this denunciation, Madura was shortly afterwards almost wholly consumed by fire, and the king and all his family perishing in the flames, the Pándya dynasty was destroyed.

The twelve princes of this list apparently commence with Kuna Pándyan, under his new title of Soma Sundara, and should, therefore, advance to the eleventh century at least; but it may be doubted whether it is very accurately compiled. A distinguished name in Tamil literature is that of a Pándya prince, who is sometimes called Hari Víra, and at other times Ádi Víra Pándyan. He is the reputed author of various translations from Sanskrit,[2] and is said to have flourished in 973 of Sáliváhana, or A.D. 1041; and his name is not found in the list here referred to, or in any subsequent ones, although there is no great reason to question the correctness of his supposed era. There are, indeed, corroborative proofs of its accuracy. A history of the kings of Konga, after that country had become subject to the Chola princes, gives an account of a war between Víra Pándyan

[1] Account of the Pándya Rájás who reigned at Madurapuri, No. 28. See List, No. 1, series 2.

[2] The Kási Khanda of the Skanda Purána, the Kurma and Linga Puránas, and the Naishadha.—*List of Tamil Authors.*

and Divya Ráyá, in which the former was defeated and taken, and had his ears cut off. And in the next reign, the Chola army advanced to Madura and took the city, the Pándya prince saving himself by flight. He was restored subsequently by the Chola monarch, on account of the relationship subsisting between them, but appears thenceforward as a subordinate and tributary prince. These events are placed by the Konga history[1] in the end of the tenth century, which is as near to the traditionary accounts of Hari Víra's date as we can well expect. Perhaps it is not very unreasonable to connect the tradition above cited of the conflagration of Madura, with the account of its capture in the Konga history, and to infer that they both relate to the same events; or the occupation and partial destruction of the capital, and temporary subversion of the state by foreign invasion, in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The history of the kings of Pándya relates, that the overthrow of the dynasty was succeeded by an interval of anarchy, the duration of which is not specified. At the close of the period the throne was taken possession of by an adventurer, the son of a Bráhman by a dancing girl, and a native of Kolam, near Madura, who assumed the name of Chandra Kula Dwípa.[2] He was succeeded by fourteen princes, in the reign of the last of whom the province of Madura was first assailed by the Musalmán arms; an occurrence which enables us to form some estimate of the dates of preceding transactions.

The first Mohammedan invasion of the Dekhin occurred in the reign of Alla-ad-din in 1293. The first army that crossed the Krishná[3] was led by Kafur, or Malek Naib, in 1310–11; and, as he carried his conquests to Rameswar, the work cited may possibly refer to this incursion. According to another authority, the event was dated in 1325, which is sufficiently near, unless, which is not improbable, the allusion blends the first and second invasion together, in which last Mujáhid Sháh,[4] in 1374, overran the countries between Vijayanagar and Cape Comorin, and advanced to Rameswar. In either case we have a period of less than three centuries assigned to fifteen princes, which would leave no very disproportionate average for their reigns, except that, as the whole season was one of tumult and disorder, and as the rulers were usurpers and intruders, they must claim considerably less than the average duration which might be assigned them in tranquil times, and under long prescriptive sway.

[1] Konga Désá Rájá Cheritram, translated from the Tamil, 18.

[2] List, No. 1, series 3.

[3] Scott's History of the Dekhin, Introduction, p. xiii. [4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 42.

Any deduction to be made from the average duration of the reigns in question, may partly be filled up by the period of anarchy which succeeded the destruction of Madura. How long this continued does not appear; nor, indeed, can its existence to the full extent of the authority here followed be admitted. The sovereign of Madura, deposed by the Chola prince, was subsequently restored by him; and in the inscriptions of the Belala race, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is said, they made the kings of Madura their tributaries.[1] It is probable, therefore, that legitimate princes of the ancient house continued to sit on the throne of Madura, some time after the capture or conflagration of their capital, till, weakened by foreign aggression and domestic disobedience, they finally yielded to the enterprise of an adventurer, and the establishment of a new dynasty.[2]

The invasion of the Musalmáns was attended with the downfal of the usurping dynasty; and, after a short interregnum, a prince, descended from the ancient rájás, was placed upon the throne with the assistance of the Canara people, it is said; but, probably, the Ráya of Vijayanagar is intended, to whom, at an early period of that empire, or shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century,[3] the Pándya kingdom probably became tributary. The prince placed upon the throne was named Soma Sek'hara, and he was followed by a

[1] As late as the reign of Vira Narasimha (1149 to 1172).

[2] Toward the end of the thirteenth century, MARCO POLO calls the king of that part of the Peninsula opposite to Ceylon, and the site of the pearl fishery, Sender Bandi. Il (Re) principale che è capo della provincia si chiama Sender Bandi, nel suo regno si pescano le perle. MARSDEN conjectures Chandra Bandi may be understood to signify the "slave or servant of the moon," 627, note 1257; but the Madura records furnish us with a much more obvious derivation. The king Sender Bandi may possibly be the Chandra Pándi, or Pándya of the text. If this is not thought satisfactory, it may be a slight corruption of the hereditary title of the prince of Marwar, in whose boundaries the pearl fishery lies, and who has been for a long period past entitled the Sétu Pati, or Lord of the Bridge; the ridge of rocks between Rameswar and Manar.

[3] One account (Sketch of Madura History, No. 19) says, the country was governed from 1370 to 1402 by Mysore viceroys, when two chiefs, named Ellakana and Mathuna, held it till 1448; then resigning it to a prince of the old dynasty. That the Mysore or Belala princes exercised a supremacy over Pándya, is unquestionable, but it must have been earlier than the period here mentioned, as by the first date (1370) the Belala power had been overturned. The authority exercised by them and the Vijayanagar kings, too, did not, probably, involve the removal of the native princes; and this probability is converted into certainty, as far as affects the latter, by the appearance of inscriptions in the name of Víra Pándyan, one of which is dated 1402 Sal., in the fifth year of his reign, and a subsequent one in the fifteenth, or Sal. 1412 (A.D. 1490); a short time, therefore, before the final eradication of his family.

series of seventeen princes to Chandra Kumára Pándyan, when an officer of Krishna Ray established the line of Telinga princes, generally termed the Naiks (Náyakas) of Madura, and abolished the shadow of authority retained by the Madura kings over a portion of the ancient kingdom, now restricted almost to the boundaries of the capital.

Besides the earlier encroachments made on the east and north by the Tanjore princes, and on the west by the Belal rájás, the interval that elapsed between the Musalmán invasion, and the establishment of the Vijayanagar Náyakas on the throne of Madura, had witnessed the separation of the southern provinces from the ancient dominion of the Pándya kings; and, particularly on the eastern coast, the extensive districts of Rámnád and Marawa, became, and ever afterwards continued, independent of the Pándya sovereignty, of which, for many ages, they had formed important divisions.

After the establishment of the chiefs of Marawa or Rámnád, as independent princes, adulatory ingenuity was employed to devise for them an honourable origin. The founder of the family was accordingly made contemporary with Ráma, who having, after his conquest of Lanka, erected a *linga* on the small island opposite Manar, which was thence denominated Ráméswar, consigned the hereditary charge of the deity and temple, and superintendence of the pilgrimage, to the Ádi Setu Pati, or first lord of the causeway.[1] The effort to aggrandise the ruling family here ceased; and, during an uncertain and protracted interval, the supposed descendants of this chief continued, it is admitted, dependents and servants of the Pándya monarchy. A few years after the irruption of Mujáhid Sháh, or about 1380, the governor of Rámnád threw off his dependance on Madura; and his successors extended their authority to the neighbouring provinces, since called the Great and Little Marawas. Family dissensions, fostered by the Náyakas of Madura, or Tanjore, subsequently divided these districts into separate chieftainships; and the aggression of their neighbours, as well as their domestic feuds, prevented the power of the Setu Pati from ever acquiring a permanent or consolidated form. The Telinga princes of Madura, and the Mahratta rulers of Tanjore, claimed, and occasionally exercised, the supreme authority; and latterly, the Nawábs of the Carnatic assumed a sway which in general was little more than nominal. Finally, the Madras presidency collected the tribute of the two

[1] General History of the Kings of Rámnád, or the Setu Pati Samasthánam, 20; Memoir of the Setu Pati, 21.

Marawas from the year 1792, and in 1801, by treaty with the Nawáb of Arcot, obtained the complete sovereignty.[1]

The Setu Pati was not the only prince who, in this distracted state of the kingdom committed encroachments on its territorial possessions; and even the adjacent province of Tinnivelly was detached from its connexion with Madura, under the administration of the Náyaks. This dependency was, however, recovered; but it subsequently was occupied by an independent Poligar, till the Nawáb of the Carnatic extended the pretensions of his authority over this part of the Peninsula, which, along with the rest of his rights, were converted into substantial possession by the British government. Besides Rámnád and Tinnivelly, a variety of petty chieftains assumed independence; and, upon the occupation of Madura by the first Náyak, five Rájás are said to have combined to revenge the wrongs of the ancient dynasty of Madura. These petty chiefs were the ancestors of some of the Poligars of the south, who gave so much trouble to the British forces in the middle of the last century. Others originated with grants made by Viswanáth Náyaka, about the middle of the sixteenth century, to the rebel leaders who had co-operated with the Vijayanagar arms in the final overthrow of the Madura monarchy.[2] Of these petty chiefs living by plunder and violence, the native lists enumerate seventy-two in the Tinnivelly and Trichanapali districts. Their numbers must, of course, have been subject to perpetual fluctuation, and increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power amongst them. The nature of their habitations, in the bosom of unhealthy and almost inaccessible wilds, gave, however, a certain security to their existence; and the efficiency of the native government was never such as to accomplish their suppression. Through a period of three centuries, therefore, the southern portion of the Peninsula was parcelled out amongst a number of petty chiefs, scarcely to be dignified even as commanders of banditti;[3] their predatory followers preferring a system of insidious

[1] HAMILTON, vol. ii. p. 473.

[2] MUTIAH'S History of the Náyakas of Madura, 22.

[3] The state of the countries, and the characters of their Collaries and their other inhabitants, are well described in ORME'S History; and their unaltered condition, at a period a little subsequent, is concisely and clearly described by FULLARTON. The extent and dreary aspect of the thickets, as well as the ferocious manners of the people, are also the subject of frequent and interesting description by the members of the Catholic missions, which were sent to this part of India between the end of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century. See Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, vols. x. to xv. The Collars have several peculiar customs contrary to those

pilfering to open plunder, and rarely venturing, without decided superiority of number or position, to face an enemy in the field. Too indolent to till the soil, too insecure to desire fixed property, they lived by hunting and robbery, and were, therefore, but little disposed to check the luxuriance of rank vegetation, which yielded them at once subsistence and shelter. It is not surprising, therefore, that the countries which the Poligars occupied should have been overrun with inhospitable and noxious forests; and, it may be concluded, that had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to enforce the habits of social life, the fine districts to the south of the Kaveri, most admirably fitted by nature to support an industrious population, would have reverted to the state in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would once more have become a suitable domicile for none but the goblins of Rávana, or the apes of Hanumán.

The princes of Vijayanagar had established their supremacy over most of the countries south of the Krishná river before the sixteenth century, but they appear in general to have left the native princes in possession of their local sovereignties, and to have contented themselves with enforcing an acknowledgment of their paramount dignity, and exacting in times of emergency pecuniary and military aid. Such was the case with the Pándya and Chola kingdoms, which were

of the Hindús, particularly the frequency of remarrying allowed to the women, either upon voluntary separation from their husbands, or their death. This custom exists with very few exceptions (MS. Accounts of the Collaries, 25, 26). The pre-eminent power and stability of the *tondiman*, as the principal Poligar chief is called, has introduced a bias to Hindú habits; and his wives having sometimes been known to sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile, the fashion has gained ground in his dominions. The Collars are chiefly worshippers of Siva and Kálí. They are not very rigid in their diet, drinking spirits and eating flesh and fish. The lax observance of the Hindú practices, which prevailed formerly amongst these tribes to a greater extent than at present, may partly furnish a reason to believe that the extensive proselytism effected by the Madura missionaries in these districts was not altogether a fiction. It appears, indeed, that amongst the thirty thousand Christians under the Madura mission, was included a considerable portion of the *calaris*, or thieves. "Je me mis sous la conduite de ce guide qui me fit bientôt quitter le grand chemin pour entrer dans le pays de la *caste des voleurs*. On la nomme ainsi parce que ceux qui la composent faisoient autrefois métier de voler sur les grands chemins. *Quoique la plupart de ces gens-là se soient faits Chrétiens*, et qu'ils ayent aujourd'hui horreur de l'ombre même du vol, ils ne laissent pas de retenir leur ancien nom, et les voyageurs n'osent encore passer par leurs forêts. Les premiers missionaires de Maduré furent *assez heureux de gagner l'estime de cette caste* de sorte qu'à present il n'y a guères de lieu, ou nous soyons mieux reçus et plus en sureté que dans leurs bois."—Du Père MARTIN au Père le GOVIEN, Decembre 1700, vol. x. p. 160.

governed in the reign of Krishna Raya of Vijayanagar by their own kings. A war broke out between Víra Sek'hara, the Chola, and Chandra Sek'hara, or Chandra Kumára, the Pándya prince, in which the Madura monarch being worsted, he was compelled to fly his country, and, in this distress, had recourse to Krishna Ráya for protection and assistance. An opportunity of this nature was not likely to be disregarded by the Vijayanagar court, and Nágama Náyaka, overseer of the royal cattle, was despatched with a considerable force to reinstate the Madura prince, and punish the ambitious presumption of the sovereign of Tanjore. The task was easily effected; and Chandra Sek'hara seated on the throne of his ancestors. His restoration, however, was but nominal, as Nágama Náyaka retained the sovereign authority in his own hands, keeping the king of Madura in confinement, and disregarding the commands and menaces even of Krishna Ráya, who found his successful general converted into a rebel.

The valour and conduct of Nágama Náyaka rendering the officers of Vijayanagar reluctant to undertake his chastisement, he seemed likely to maintain his newly acquired authority in perfect impunity.[1] To the surprise of the Vijayanagar court, however, an antagonist to Nágama was found in the person of his only son, Viswanát'h; a son whom he had performed a pilgrimage to Benares to obtain, and whom he had left for education, or who had not improbably been detained as a hostage, at Vijayanagar. As Viswanáth Náyak had given many proofs of his military talents, and as his professions of loyalty were credited, he was accordingly intrusted with the unnatural duty of revenging his prince upon a father, and marched with a strong force against Nágama. The father was defeated and taken prisoner, and, according to one account, delivered to Krishná Raya by Viswanáth, who replaced the legitimate king of Madura on the throne, and returned triumphantly to Vijayanagar, where, in consideration of the merits of

[1] The materials for the history of the Náyaks of Madura, although not very full, are, as far as they extend, satisfactory. They are, 1. A History of the Modern Kings of Madura, by TRIUVERCADU MUTIAH, an ingenious native of the Carnatic, an amusing account of whose studies, written by himself, is published in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, for 1801; 2. A History of the Telugu Rulers of Madura, translated by Mr. WHEATLEY from the Tamil; and, 3. A Sketch of the History of Madura, to the reign of Trimal Náyak, Nos. 19, 22, 23. A fourth account (24) is confined to the affairs of the descendants of Vijaya Ranga Choka Nát'h, who died in 1731. It is drawn up by the representative of the family, Vijaya Kumára Viswanát'h Bhangaru Trimala Náyak, the great grandson of the last Náyak of Madura.

the son, the father was forgiven. The king of Madura soon after dying, and leaving no heir, Viswanáth Náyak was installed by the sovereign of Vijayanagar as feudatory prince of Madura. Another history of Madura, however, omits these circumstances, and describes Viswanáth as the officer sent to the assistance of the Pándya prince, and the usurper of the independent sovereignty. At any rate, it is evident from the tenor of both accounts that Viswanáth Náyak first established this dynasty, and that his assumption of the regal authority was acquiesced in by the court of Vijayanagar, too much occupied in watching the proceedings of their new neighbours of Bijapur[1] to attend to the affairs of the more southern districts.

After the inauguration of Viswanáth Náyak, he proceeded to strengthen himself in his new government; and, with this view, having enforced the cession of Trichanapali from the Chola Rájá, he improved the fortifications of that stronghold, and built a palace in the fort for his reception. He then directed his attention to the settlement of Tinnevelly and the southern districts, the depopulated parts of which he distributed amongst his adherents, chiefs of the Totia caste, to the number of seventy-two, who were the progenitors of the petty chiefs subsequently known as Poligars. This measure, however, and resentment for the extirpation of the ancient royal family, seem to have aroused the remaining chiefs of that principality to arms, and a force, led by five rájás connected with the Pandya dynasty, opposed the further progress of Viswanáth. The quarrel was, however, decided by the personal conflict of that chief with Agra Pándyan, who was selected as the champion of the enemy, and was killed in the combat. According to one of our histories, Viswanáth survived his victory but a short period, dying of his wounds on the ensuing day. According to another account, he recovered, and continued to reign long enough to extend and consolidate his power.[2]

[1] Established as an independent state in 1489 by Yúsuf Ádil Khán.—SCOTT, vol. i. p. 207.

[2] Although the two histories agree in the main facts, they differ considerably in the details, and especially in the chronology. MUTIAH's account places Viswanáth's accession, A.D. 1560, the other, A.D. 1431. The former of these best agrees with Krishna Raya's date, and with the previous history of Madura: it may be about forty years too modern. MUTIAH's history enumerates but eleven princes between 1560 and 1742, or one hundred and eighty-two years; the other names fourteen princes in three hundred and seven years,—the former giving about seventeen, the latter twenty-two years to a reign. But this proportion is too much, as three of the fourteen princes are three brothers who reigned consecutively, and the average of whose reigns could not, therefore, have exceeded half this number. We shall

The second prince of Madura, Peria Krishnapa Náyak, the son of Viswanáth, succeeded his father. He extended the authority of the new family towards the south, reducing to subjection the Poligar of Permagúdí: he enlarged and beautified Tinnevelly, and built a village to the south of Palamcota, called after his own name Kistnapuram. And here, as well as near Tinnevelly, he built a temple of Siva, and a range of dwellings for the residence of Brahmans, attaching to both liberal endowments.

The third prince of this race was the son of the preceding, Peria Virapa Náyak, who emulated his father in extending the authority of Madura, and in founding temples and endowing religious establishments.

The succession of the Náyaks is here differently stated, Mutiah's History passing to a second Krishnapa Náyak, calling him the son of the last prince, whilst the other account states that Peria Virapa Náyak left three sons, Viswapa, Kumára Krishnapa, and Kastúrí Rangapa, all of whom succeeded in regular order to the government. The last was succeeded by Krishnapa, who was the son of the second brother, Kumára Krishnapa, and until whose reign no particular transactions have been thought worthy of being recorded.

The most remarkable incident of this reign was the formal acknowledgment of the Poligar of Rámnád, as the sovereign of the eastern coast. This event must have taken place at the end of the sixteenth century; and the accounts of Marawa assert the independency of the founder of the sovereignty about two centuries sooner. They agree, however, with the histories of Madura, in admitting, that about this period Wodeya Déva was recognised by the king of Madura as the legitimate ruler of Rámnád, and warden of Rámeswar; and there can be little doubt, therefore, that the power of the Marawa rulers first assumed a consistent form at the period here described. They were not, however, entirely independent, as, although authorised to extend their authority over their refractory and predatory neighbours,

have a more probable result, if we suppose the number of princes to be, including Nágama, fifteen, and the number of years two hundred and twenty-two, from 1520 (for Krishna Raya ruled from 1509 to 1530) to 1742, which will give us something less, than fifteen years to a reign. Colonel WILKS says, the dynasty of the Náyaks of Madura was founded by Nagana Naid (or Naik) about 1532, in the reign of Achyuta Deva, with the aid of a colony of Telingas, which seems to have been planted in the country some time before by the government of Vijayanagar. The descendants of those are the Poligars of the present day, who are undoubtedly of Telinga, not Tamil, origin (vol. i. p. 54, note). Their introduction is differently stated in the authorities followed in the text.

they were required to pay tribute to the Madura government; and they were especially enjoined to give protection to the pilgrims to Rámeswar against the Colars and Marawars, who had been accustomed to plunder and harass these devotees upon their passage, so as almost to have deterred the people of other parts of India from undertaking so perilous a journey.

Virapa Náyak succeeded his father. According to one account, Trichanapali was first attached to the government of Madura in his reign, having previously belonged to the state of Tanjore, from which it was obtained by exchange, the fort of Vellam being ceded to that state in lieu of this citadel. The transaction is uniformly so described; but it is referred by other authorities to the reign of Viswanáth, the first Náyak, as already noticed, or to that of Tirumalla Náyak, the successor of Virapa.

The accession of Tirumalla Náyak, the son and successor of the last prince, brings us to a period of chronological certainty, and is placed by the different authorities within two or three years of the same date, or 1621, 1623, and 1626. The reign of this prince was long and flourishing, and the public edifices erected during his sovereignty still furnish splendid proofs of his wealth and magnificence.

The affairs of Rámnád form the most important transactions of this reign. Kutan Setupati, the son of Wodeya Deva, who had succeeded his father, left, upon his death, four legitimate sons, and one illegitimate. Of the first, the third son succeeded his father, but the fourth, Ádi Náráyan, disputed his possession of the country, and, with the assistance of his son-in-law, Tiruvadeya-vanni, a man of great military enterprise and ability, appears to have deposed his brother, and made himself master of Rámnád. The illegitimate son of Kutan, named Tumbi, had recourse to the court of Madura, and easily prevailed upon Tirumalla Náyak to send an army under his general, Rámápya, to put him in possession of what he claimed as his inheritance, a portion of the Márawa principality. Whilst Tiruvadeya-vanni lived, the troops of Madura were successfully resisted; but, upon his dying of the small-pox, a casualty ascribed to the incantations of his enemies, Rámápya overran the country, and taking Ádi Náráyan prisoner, carried him to Madura, where he was detained in close confinement.

Tumbi Setu Pati was now sole master of Rámnád, but the people contemning the baseness of his birth, withheld obedience to his orders, and, breaking out into open rebellion, he was glad to seek safety again in the court of his patron. The eastern districts were now without a ruler, and the same dangers that formerly prevailed

once more obstructing the pilgrimage to Rámeswar, the Brahmans and religious mendicants solicited the restoration of Ádi Náráyan to the government, as calculated to re-establish order and security in the country. Tirumalla complied in some degree with their request; but, acting upon a maxim which has constantly influenced eastern politics, as well as those of more civilised regions, he gave to Ádi Náráyan, with his liberty, but a third part of his patrimony, leaving another third in the hands of Tumbi, and conferring the rest on Danu Kánta, the son-in-law of Ádi Náráyan.

This division of the Marawas, although it laid the foundation of future partitions, did not at that time long continue. Tumbi contrived to put his brother to death, but soon after dying himself, his portion was seized by Vijaya Raghunath, the adopted son of Ádi Náráyan, who, likewise, gained possession of the state of Danu Kánta upon his death, and thus re-united the three governments under one head. This prince, although he extended his authority over the adjoining districts, continued obedient to the authority of Tirumalla; and, upon the invasion of Madura by a formidable army from Mysore, was highly instrumental in their repulse, leading, with an activity which received the acknowledgement of the Náyak, a considerable force to the assistance of his lord paramount, and mainly enabling him to defeat and expel the invaders.

Although the fortress of Trichanapali was the chief stronghold of the kingdom of Madura, the city of Madura appears to have been the favourite residence of Tirumalla Náyak. We have already ascribed to a much older prince the original construction of the fort, the temple, and palace, of which such stately vestiges still exist. There is no doubt, however, that they owe much of their present form to the taste of Tirumalla Náyak, and the palace of Madura especially shews indications of modern architecture; at the same time, the more celebrated building, still in good order, the Choltri of Tirumalla Náyak, known to be his work, is an edifice purely Hindú, and blends the square and massive character of the general structure with the singularly minute decoration, and luxuriantly fantastic developement of the details. The Choltri is a chamber of an oblong square form, the flat roof of which of long stones, rests upon one hundred and twenty-four pillars of stone twenty feet high, and placed in four rows. The pillars are curiously carved with different figures representing stories connected with the Hindú religion, the peculiar legends of the *Madura Purána*, and the persons of the founder, and his predecessors. One pillar represents Tirumalla Náyak himself, with six of his wives, and a number of the women of his haram. The Choltri, it

was said, was begun in the year 1623, the second year of the founder's reign, was finished in twenty-two years, and cost above a million sterling. It was built, it is asserted, to receive the Lingam of the great temple ten days in every year, the Brahmans agreeing to bring their divinity forth upon condition of Tirumalla Náyak's providing a suitable place for his temporary accommodation. Besides this Choltri, the same prince is said to have completed three other great works — a pagoda; a tank, three quarters of a mile square, twenty feet deep, and faced with stone; and a grand palace ornamented with black granite pillars, some of which are twenty feet high cut out of one stone.[1]

The reign of Tirumalla Náyak was of considerable duration; one account says forty years; another, thirty-six; and the lowest computation, therefore, brings it to the year 1657,[2] when he was succeeded by his son Vírapa, a prince of an effeminate and indolent disposition, and who, accordingly, was unable to repress the incursions of the Mysoreans, under so active a prince as Kanti Deva Nana Raj. They took several places in the western districts during this reign from the Madura Náyak.[3]

Chokánath Náyak succeeded his father; he was a prince of some conduct and enterprise, and rendered himself formidable to all his neighbours. He first turned his arms against Vijaya Rághava, king of Tanjore, whom he defeated and put to death, taking prisoner his ally, Surya Deva, the Setupati, and assisting Kilavan, the cousin of the captive prince, to become master of Rámnád. He then invaded the kingdom of Mysore, expecting to reduce it under his authority, but the events of the war reversed his expectations, and inflicted severe losses on the government of Madura.

The son of the late king of Tanjore, Chengamál Dás, had made his escape from the fort of Trichanapali, where he had been confined.

[1] BLACKADER'S Account of the Buildings at Madura, Archæologia, vol. x. Views of the Choltri, &c. have been given by DANIEL, and LANGLÈS' Monumens de L'Hindoustan.

[2] It must have been in the early part of this reign that the Portuguese Jesuits, under ROBERT DE NOBILIBUS, established the Madura mission, although a liberal benefactor to the Brahmans; therefore, Tirumalla Náyak could not have been a bigot. There were two Christian churches in the city of Madura.—*Lettres Edifiantes*, xiii. 130.

[3] As Denaikan-cotta, Satyamangal, and other ta'alluks.—WILKS, i. 54. These aggressions are dated 1653 in the History of Mysore, but, as it is said, they were taken from Virapa, Naik of Madura; and, as the character of this prince renders such an event probable, it is most likely that Colonel WILKS's date is a few years erroneous.

His escape was effected probably with the aid of Rustam Khan, a Mohammedan chief, who had been a favourite of Chokanáth, and who commanded the garrison under the orders of Mudala Rudra Náyak, the brother of Chokanáth, an extravagant and indolent prince, who lavished on his personal gratifications the sums destined for the pay of the troops. Taking advantage of their discontent, Rustam Khan liberated himself from all controul, and made himself master of Trichanapali. This event, with the escape of Chengamál Dás, encouraged the Rájá of Chenji to advance to Srirangam, whilst the rájá of Mysore on that side now became the aggressor. In this state, Chokanáth found some difficulty in preserving the shadow of his former power, and his enemies retained the superiority for a considerable period, the Mysoreans occupying even the capital, Madura, it is said, for three years.[1] It was probably to purchase their retreat that Chokanáth ceded to Mysore the districts of Errúr and Darapur.[2] Having thus got rid of one of his most powerful enemies, and being vigourously reinforced by Kilavan Setupati, he next dispersed the troops of Chengamál Dás, and reoccupied Tanjore. He finally recovered Trichinapali from Rustam Khan, who lost his life in the defence; and the Chenji Rájá retreating to his own capital, Chokanáth remained in the tranquil possession of his patrimonial possessions. He soon, however, lost his acquisitions in Tanjore, the fugitive prince, Chengamál Dás, having recourse to the Mahratta chief, Ekaji, for assistance. That adventurer, who commanded at Bangalore, under the nominal authority of the Mohammedan court of Bijapur, readily undertook his protection.[3] The confederates marched to Tanjore, and soon expelled the forces of Madura. The Mahratta, presently usurping the sovereignty of Tanjore, was not at leisure to prosecute his success against Chokanáth; and these princes very shortly afterwards entered into a mutual confederacy to oppose the incursions of Sevaji.[4] These events, which are usually placed between 1675 and 1680, are

[1] MUTIAH'S History. The fact is confirmed by the *Lettres Edifiantes*. One, dated 1719, observes of the Christian Churches at Madura,—Ces Eglises furent tout à fait renversés lorsque la ville fut prise et ruinée en partie par le Roi de Mayssur. Vol. xiii. p. 131.

[2] WILKS, i. 58.

[3] This is rather differently narrated in the Pratapa Vamsavali Bhosla. There it is said the Prince of Trichanapali applied to Shahoji for assistance against Vijaya Rághava, prince of Tanjore. That Shahoji enabled the Rájá of Trichanapali to repel his enemy and capture Tanjore, but that he then appropriated the conquest to himself, expelling his ally from the country, and leaving it under the administration of his son, Eekaji.

[4] WILKS, i. 78.

in perfect conformity with the period of the reign of Choka Náyak as stated in the authorities we have followed, and which date its termination in 1685 or 1687.

Chokanáth Náyak was succeeded by his son, Ranga Krishna Múto Virápa, who died young, after a reign of seven or eight years, leaving his wife pregnant with a son, afterwards named Vijaya Ranga Chokanáth Náyak. During his minority the regency was exercised by Mangamal, the grandmother of the prince, a woman of great talents and manly spirit. One account describes her as preserving her authority until 1712, but another[1] states, that when the prince was thirteen years of age, the commander of the forces, Kasturi Ranjya, excited an opposition to her which ended in his seizing the reins of government, and in her confinement until her death, which speedily followed. We know, however, that in 1700, she was regarded as the ruler of Madura for her grandson, although the administration of the affairs of the state was in the hands of a governor, or regent, who exercised unlimited authority.[2]

The reign of Vijaya Ranga Chokanáth Nayák was not distinguished by any remarkable event. He died in 1731,[3] leaving no child; he was, therefore, succeeded by his wife, Minákshi Amman, who adopted Vijaya Kumára, the son of Bhangaru Trimal Nayak, a descendant in a direct line from a younger son of Tirumalla Náyak. This adoption was enforced by the law of the country, so that Minákshi Amman was in fact only regent during Vijaya Kumára's minority. The adoption was generally acceded to by the ministers and men in authority, but it was disputed by Bhangaru Tirumalla Náyak, the father of the youth: he claimed the inheritance to the throne, and his claims were powerfully supported by the activity and influence of his years and rank. The parties are described in one account as having come to an indecisive engagement; but it is admitted that the matter was, with much less policy, referred to the Nawab of Arcot, who sent his son, Sufdar Ali, and Chanda Saheb, with an army to hear and decide the disputed question. The cause was discussed at Trichanapali, and the general bias leaning to Bhangaru Tirumalla Náyak, he was

[1] MUTIAH's History.

[2] "Cette Princesse Mangamal, qui est comme depositaire de la couronne, fait élever avec un grand soin son petit fils, prince agé de quatorze ou quinze ans, à qui le royaume appartient, et confie, cependant, tout le gouvernement de l'état au Talavay, ou Prince Regent."—*Lettres Edifiantes*, x. 171. The letter is dated Avour, in the kingdom of Madura, 11 Dec. 1700.

[3] MUTIAH says 1734, Orme (I, 38), 1736; but our date is confirmed by MSS. 24, which, as a family account of such recent events, seems to be the best authority.

placed on the throne, presenting three lacks of rupees to his Mohammedan friends, and acknowledging himself the tributary of the Nawab of Arcot.

The same means that had secured a favourable award for the successful candidate, were now employed to procure a reversion of the sentence, and a nazzer of a crore of rupees, it is said, prevailed on Chanda Sahib to undertake the cause of the Ráni. These negociations becoming known to Bhangaru Náyak, he quitted Trichanapali, and endeavoured to secure himself in Madura and Tinnivelly, but he was unequal to oppose the troops of the princess, aided by the Mohammedan arms, and, after a few unsuccessful skirmishes, he fled to Sivaganga, where the ruling Setupati, Katta Deva, received him and assigned him some lands for his subsistence. The zeal which Chanda Sahib had displayed in behalf of Minákshi Amman, and the success with which it had been attended were calculated to inspire confidence as well as gratitude; and it was under these impressions that the princess granted free access to the citadel of Trichanapali to her defenders. The further precaution, however, was taken, of exacting an oath from Chanda Sahib, that he would not avail himself of this facility to the detriment of his ally. No obstacle, however, was likely to deter this ambitious prince from securing a post of such importance to his meditated schemes of aggrandisement; and, consequently, in despite of oaths and protestations, he presently seized upon the citadel of Trichanapali, and threw Minákshi Amman into prison, in which the queen, overcome by shame and despair, swallowed poison and died, thus terminating the series of the Hindú sovereigns of the Pándya kingdom. Bhangaru, with his son, the cause of these dissensions, continued some time under the protection of the Sivaganga Poligar. They and their descendants were from time to time encouraged by the Nawabs of the Carnatic to expect their restoration to the possessions of their ancestors, but there is no reason to suppose such hopes were ever held out to them in the spirit of sincerity, and it is certain that they bore no fruit. The family remained some time at Vellikurchi, afterwards at Rámnád, and were thence obliged to take refuge amongst the Poligars. After the war with Tipú they returned to Vellikurchi, where they have continued to reside.

It is unnecessary to follow further the history of Madura, as it becomes, from this period, a portion of that of the British empire in India.

LISTS OF THE PÁNDYAN KINGS.

	No. 1. Vamsavali, Vol.	No. 2. Vol.	No. 3. Madura Purána, Vol.	No. 4. Madura Purána, Vol.	No. 5. Hálásya.
1	Kulasékhara.	Kulasek'hara.		Kulasek'hara.	Kulasek'hara.
2	Malaya Dhwaja.	Malaya Dhwaja.		Malaya Dhwaja.	Malaya Dhwaja.
3	Sundara.	Minakshi and Sundara.	Soma Sundara.	Sundara.	Sundara.
4	Vira.	Wugra.	Wugra.	Vugra.	Wugra.
5	Abhisheka.	Vira.	Vira.	Vira.	Avhisheka Vira.
6	Vikrama.	Abhisheka.	Abhisheka.	Abhisheca.	Vikrama.
7	Rájásek'hara.	Vikrama.	Vikrama.	Vikrama.	Sek'hara.
8	Anantaguna.	R. Sek'hara.	R. Sek'hara.	R. Sek'hara.	Kulottunga.
9	Kulabhara.	Kulottunga.	Kulottunga.	Kulottunga.	Anantaguna.
10	Varaguna.[2]	Anantaguna.	Anantaguna.	Anantaguna.	Kulabhushana.
11	Rájá Rájá.	Bhushana.	Kulabhushana.	Kulabhushana.	Rajendra.
12	Rájá Gambhira.[5]	Rajendra.	Rajendra.[4]	Rajendra.	Rajésa.
13	Chitra Virta.	Sundareswara Pada Sek'hara.	Tari Rájá.	Rajésa.	R. Gambhira.
14	Chitra Guna.	Varaguna.	Udalura.	R. Gambhira.[5]	P. Vamsapradi-paka.[5]
15	Chitra Dhwaja.	Rájá Rájá.	Gambhira.	P. Vamsadípa.	Puruhutajit.
16	Chitra Guna.	Vamsa Sek'hara.[3]	Vengi Ádi.	Purandarjit.	P. Vamsa Pataka.
17	Chitra Vikrama.	Vamsa Churamani.	Purandara.	P. Vamsa Vataka.	Sundarapada.
18	Rájá Martanda.	Kula Sek'hara.	Kumára.	Sundarésá Pada Sek'hara.	Varaguna.
19	Rájá Chudamani.	Arimerddhana.	Vangeya.	Varaguna.	Rájá Rájá.
20	Rájá Sundara.	Chokanath.	Eradana.	Rája Rájá.	Chitra Ratha.
21	Rájá Kulottunga.	Virabhadra.	Sundarésá Pada Sek'hara.	Suguna.	Chitra Bhushana.

22	Rájá Sirogicha Gambhíra.	Vira.	Varaguna.	Chitra Viratha.	Chitra Dhwaja.
23	Rájá Gambhíra.	Prakrama.	Rájá Rájá.	Chitra Bhushana.	Chitra Verma.
24	Pándya Vansa Dípa.	Suravhi.	Suguna.	Chitra Dhwaja.	Chitra Séna.
25	Purandara Sundara.	Kunkuma.	Chitra Ratha.	Chitra Vermá.	Chitra Vikrama.
26	Pándya Vamsa Dhurandara.	Karpura.	Chitra Bhushana.	Chitra Sena.	R. Martanda.
27	Jannadeswara.	Karunya.	Chitra Dhwaja.	Chitra Vikrama.	R. Churamani.
28	Pandu Sek'hara.	Puruskottama.	Chitra Verma.	Rájá Martanda.	R. Sardula.
29	Varaguna.	Chatursasana.	Chitra Chera.	Rájá Churamani.	R. Kulottama.
30	Rájá Sardúla.	Kuna, or Sundara.	Chitra Vikrama.	Rájá Sardúla.	Ayodhana Pravina.
31	Rájá Kulottama.		Rájá Martanda.	Rájá Kulottama.	Rájá Kunjara.
32	Ayatana Pravína.		Sardúla.	Pravína.	R. Bhayamkara.
33	Rájá Kunjara.		Kavi Rájá.	K. Kunjara.	Wugrasena.
34	Pravíra Rájá Bhayancara.		Kulottama.	R. Bhayamkara.	Mahasena.
35	Varoonajana.		Tunda Pravina.	Wugra Sena.	Satrunjaya.
36	Satrunjaya.		Rájá Kunjara.	Satrunjaya.	Bhimaratha.
37	Viravudanda.		Rájá Bhayamkara.	Jayamgonda.	Bhima Paracrama.
38	Viraparakrama.		Rudrasena.	Parakrama.	Pratap Martanda.
39	Pratapa Martanda.		Satrunjaya.	Pratap Martanda.	Vikrama Kanchuki.
40	Vikramakaryaka.		Vinatar.	Vikrama Kunchuka.	Yuddha Kolahala.
41	Samara Sek'hara Kolatala.		Viraprakrama.	Samara Kolahala.	Chaturi Vikrama.
42	Antala Vikrama.		Pratapa Martanda.	Atula Vikrama.	Atula Kirtti.
43	Antala Kirtti.		Vikramakanchuki.	Atula Kirtti.	Kirtti Bhushana.
44	Vamsa Sek'hara.[6]		Samara Kolahala.	Kirtti Bhushana.	Vamsa Sek'hara.
45	Pratapa Surya.		Yatula Vikrama.	Vamsa Sekhara.	Champaka.
46	Vamsatulaja.		Yatula Kirtti.	Vamsa Churamani, or Chanjpaka.	Pratápasurya.

LISTS OF THE PÁNDYAN KINGS (*continued*).

	No. 1. Vamsavali, Vol.	No. 2. Vol.	No. 3. Madura Puràna, Vol.	No. 4. Madura Puràna, Vol.	No. 5. Hálásya.
47	Nipu Marundari.		Kirtti Bhushana.	Pratapa Surya.	Vamsa Dhwaja.
48	Chola Vamsottaraca.		Vamsa Sek'hara.	Vamsa Dhwaja.	Vamsa Bhushana.[7]
49	Kula Churamani.		Vamsa Churamani.	Marutakan.	Loma Churamani.
50	Rájá Churamani.		Surya Vanjival Dhwaja.	Chola Vamsantaca.	Kula Churamani.
51	Vamsa Siromani.		Marutaka.	Chera Vamsantaka.	Rájá Churamani.
52	Pándya Gambhíra.		Pratapa.	Pándya Vamsésá.	Bhupa Churamani.
53	Kuvalatuja.		Sovilanki.	Vamsa Siromani.	Pándya Kulésá.
54	Vamsa Vibhushana.		Suvangi Sandha.	Pandyeswara.	Arimerddhana.
55	Kulésa.		Vamsa Sek'hara II.	Kulodhwaja.	Kunapandya.[8 9]
56	Chola Churamani I.		Vamsa Siromani.	Vamsa Vibhushana.	
57	Chola Churamani II.		Pandeswara.	Chola Churamani.	
58	Rájá Churamani.		Kulutoja.	Kula Churamani.	
59	Bhupa Churamani.		Vamsa Bhushana.	Rájá Churamani.	
60	Kulésa II.		Chola Churamani.	Bhupa Churamani.	
61	Arimarundana.		Kula Churamani.	Kulésá.	
62	Sek'hara Nát'ha.		Rájá Churamani.	Arimatun.	
63	Vira Bhagu.		Bhupa Churamani.	Jagannath.	
64	Vikrama Bhagu.		Kulésa.	Virabahu.	
65	Pracrama Bhagu.		Marutan.	Vikramabahu.	
66	Durmada.		Jagannath.	Pragramabahu.	
67	Karunya.		Virabhagu.	Suradamaran.	

68	Sarvasasana.			
69	Sandhatum.		Vikramabhagu.	Bahubala, or Vaguvalen.
70	Nagarika.		Prakramabhagu.	Kunkumatanya.
71	Chencalneelyetta.		Suratamara.	Karpura.
72	Vetteya Vinata.		Vaguvalatu.	Karunya.
73			Kunkumatennen.	Purushottam.
74			Karpura.	Satrusadhana.
75			Karunya.	Kuna Pándya, or Sundara.
76			Purushottama.	
77			Chitra Satana.	
			Kuna, or Sundara.	

[1] Nos. 3 and 4 should be taken from the same authority by the title, but they do not agree: the second is really from the Teruvaleyadal, which is usually called the Madura Puránq.

[2] Varaguna is too early in this list by five or six at least.

[3] This list omits here between thirty and forty names, whence it is so much briefer than the rest.

[4] We have here eight kings between Rajendra and Sundarapada; the two next have but five. With this correction the three agree tolerably well as far as they go.

[5] The names of the Chitra family appear transposed in No. 1, as compared with 4 and 5, else they nearly agree.

[6] Differs from the rest in not following Vamsa Sek'hara by Champaka, whom it seems to omit altogether; else the three first lists agree tolerably well.

[7] The Hálásya here omits seven or eight names.

[8] The same here omits ten or eleven names.

[9] All the lists, except the first, here close, and with the same prince, or Kuna Pándya, with whom the next series, from the same authority, seems to begin. According to the Vamsavali, the seventy-two kings here enumerated reigned in former ages.

[10] In these lists the names are often the same though differently written or expressed. Thus, Antala Kirtti (1), Vatula Kirtti (3), and Atula Kirtti (4), are the same name: and Samara Kolahala (1, 3, 4) means the same as Yuddha Kolahala, "the exulter in battle."

Continuation of List Nos.

SERIES II.

1. Soma Sundara.
2. Karpura Súndara.
3. Kumára Sek'hára.
4. Kumára Sundara.
5. Shamuk'ha Noya.
6. Sasiverna.
7. Paruva Mantra.
8. Pararaja Sena.
9. Mugaratoja.
10. Satrubhayamkara.
11. Satru Sama.
12. Kodocola, or Kodungal.

Kali, 305. Interregnum.

SERIES III.

1. Chandrakula Dípa.
2. Pulikodi Paruta.
3. Minkodi Paruta.
4. Magaratuja.
5. Martanda.
6. Kuvalayana.
7. Gunalaya.
8. Virabagu.
9. Satru Samkara.
10. Vira Verma.
11. Vernakulottanga.
12. Rájá Martanda.
13. Kulaverddhana.
14. Varapunyachari.
15. Kulaverddhana 2d.

Invasion of Bahádur Sháh.

SERIES III.

1. Somasek'hara.
2. Soma Sundara.
3. Rájá Rájá.
4. ———
5. Rájá Kunjara.
6. Rájá Sek'hara.
7. Rújá Verma.
8. Bharata Rájá.
9. Kumara Sena.
10. Bhímasena.
11. Pralupa Rájá.
12. Varaguna.
13. Kumara Sundara.
14. Varatunga.
15. Kulottunga.
16. Sundara Kesara.
17. Chandra Kumara.

Expelled by Virasek'hara, king of Chola.

Restored by Nagama Nayak.

Here begin the Nayaks of whom we have three Lists, one of which is the present.

	Nayaks of Madura, List 1; or, the Vamsavali, Vol.	Mutiah's List.	3. From the History.
1	Viswanath.	Viswanath.	Viswanath.
2	Perya Kistnapa.	Mootoo Kistnama.	Peryakistnapa.
3	Perya Virapa.	Virapa.	Perya Virapa.
4	Viswapa.	Krishnappa.[2]	Viswapa.
5	Perya Virapa.	Mootoo Virapa.	Kumara Kistnapa.
6	Perya Kistnapa.	Terumalla.	Kasturi Rangapa.
7	Kasturi Rangapa.	Mootoo Virapa.	Mootoo Kistnapa.
8	Mootoo Kistnapa.	Chokanath.	Mootoo Virapa.
9	Mootoo Virapa.	Ranga Crishna Mootoo Virapa.	Terumalla.
10	Terumalla.	Vijayaranga Chokanath.	Mootoo Virapa.
11	Chokanath.	Minacshi Ammaul.	Chokanath.
12	Kistna Mootoo Virapa.		Kistna Mootoo Virapa.
13	Vijaya Ranga, as a minor.		Vijaya Ranga, under the regency of Mongamal.
14	Ditto, as of age.		Ditto, of age.
15	Mangamal,[1] his widow.		Minackshi Ammal, his widow.
16	Vijaya Kumar.		Vijaya Kumára.

[1] Should be Minakshi.

[2] MUTIAH omits the three brothers of Virapa, and goes to his nephew. He omits, also, the regency of Mangamal, and the last prince. These five, added to his eleven, the three lists agree.

List of the Manuscript Translations referred to in the preceding Accounts with reference to the Pages, &c. of the Appendix to the Description of the Mackenzie Collection.

1. Vamsavali of the Chola, Chera, and Pándya Dynasties, extracted from a MS. in the possession of Kalinga Raya: and translated from the Tamil by R. CLARKE, Esq. cxxviii. vol. i. art. 1.
2. Genealogy of the Pándya Rájás from the Madura Puranam, composed by PARUNJOTHI. Translated by SRINAVASIA BRAHMAN. Ibid. i. 12.
3. Origin of Madura, with a List of the Kings (List No. 2), and the Limits of the Country. Translated from a Tamil MS. communicated by Mr. HURDIS, by SRINAVASIA. Ibid. i. 9.
4. List of the Kings of Pándya from the Teruvaleyadal, or Madura Purána. Extracted and translated by KAVELE VENKATA LAKSHMYA. MS.

5. List of the Kings of Pándya, extracted from the Hálásya Mahatmya of the Skanda Purana. MS.
6. Rájá Cheritee; or, Actions of the Vadaka Rájás of Tanjore, Trichanapali, and Madura. cxxviii. i. 8.
7. Madura Puranam; or, Teruvaleyadal of Paranjoti Tamburan. Translated from the Tamil by a native interpreter. Tamil MSS. or class 3, No. 33. cxciv.
8. Puranam, or Ancient History of Madura. Tamil MSS. or class 3, No. 28. Ibid.
9. An Account of the most esteemed works in the Tamil language; from a paper communicated by Mr. COCHRANE.
10. Description of the Dravida country, confined almost to notices of Tamil authors. MSS. class 3. cxcvi.
11. Pándya Rájá Kal; a History of the Kings of Pándya Desa. Translated from the Tamil. MSS. class 3, No. 27. cxciv.
12. Account of a hill called Tripurankodum and Skander Mally. MSS. class 3, No. 80. cxcvi.
13. Varaguna Cheritram; a History of Varaguna. MSS. class 3, 26. cxciv.
14. Life of Agastyer. Translated from the Tamil. MSS. class 3, 4. cxcii.
15. Life of Manukyavasager. By VEDANAIK VIDHAGAMA SIROMANI. Class 3, No. 3. cxcii.
16. Account of the Sanketar, or Madura College. Translated from a Tamil MS. communicated by MINACSHI NAYAH. cxxviii. i. 13.
17. Account of Gnyana Siva-achári. By NITAL NAINA. Class 3, No. 9. cxciii.
18. Konga Desa Rájá Chentram; a History of the kings of Congo. cxxx. vol. iii. 6.
19. Sketch of the History of Madura. cxxxii. vol. iv. 17.
20. History of the Kings of Rámnád. Translated from the original of Soma Sundara Pilla, by CAVELLY VENKALL RAMASWAMI. cxxxii. vol. iv. 21.
21. Some account of the Setupati, or Rámnád Poligan. Translated at Simoga, by C. O. RAMASWAMI. Ibid. vol. iv. 20.
22. Chronological and Historical Account of the Modern Kings of Madura. By MOOTIAH. Ibid. vol. iv. 4.
23. History of the Telugu Rulers of Madura. Translated by Mr. WHEATLEY. Ibid. vol. iv. 5–16.
24. Account of the Rájás who held the Government of the Samsthan of Madura. By Vijaya Kumara-viswanatt Bhanganu Terumala Naih Gouroo; or, the representative of the family of Terumal Naih. Class 3, 82. clxxxxvi.
25. Account of the Colars. By MINAKSHI NAYAH of Madura. Class 3, 81. Ibid.
26. Account of Malanaudoo, and other places in the Calari country. Class 3, No. 37. clxxxxiv.
27. Memoir of Tinnavelly. cxxii. vol. iv. 2.
28. Rájá Cheritra; or, History of the Princes of the South. Translated from the Tamil by SRINAVASIA.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

TO THE

HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

KINGDOM OF PÁNDYA.

BY

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, Esq.

BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, OXFORD.

&c. &c. &c.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE,

&c. &c. &c.

SHORTLY after the paper which the Royal Asiatic Society has thought worthy of a place in the present Number of the Journal, the Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya, was printed, I procured a copy of a valuable work recently transmitted to England from Madras, "Oriental Historical Manuscripts in the Tamil Language; translated, with Annotations, by WILLIAM TAYLOR, Missionary." The most important of the manuscripts, now first published by Mr. TAYLOR, relate to the subject of my Sketch, and constitute materials highly essential to the elucidation of Pandyan history. The chief of them, the "Madura Sthala Purana," is clearly the same as one of my authorities, the "Madura Purana;" and it seems likely that the "Pandion Chronicle," and the "History of the Karnata Governors of Madura," which are also amongst Mr. TAYLOR's translations, may be identifiable with documents in the "Mackenzie Collection," of which I have made use.

There is, accordingly, a general conformity, as close, perhaps, as could be well expected between the details of Mr. TAYLOR's authorities and those which I have given; but his conclusions, and those which I have hazarded, do not always coincide. We are most at variance with regard to the chronology of Pandyan history; Mr. TAYLOR being disposed to assign to persons and events a much higher antiquity than I have ventured to ascribe to them. I am not about to vindicate my views: they are now more fully before the public than they were in the introduction to the "Mackenzie Collection," to which Mr. TAYLOR necessarily confines his observations; and some correcter notion also may be entertained of the particular authorities which I have taken as my guides. With the present Sketch, and the benefit of Mr. TAYLOR's translations and remarks, those who are inclined to decide between us are in a condition to form a judgment for themselves.

I should not, therefore, have thought it necessary to have adverted particularly to Mr. TAYLOR's publication, had it not comprised a statement which it is necessary to correct, that a candid comparison between our deductions may be instituted. Mr. TAYLOR observes in the preface to his second volume, referring to the notice of Pandya prefixed to the Mackenzie Collection: "One position, relating to the remote origin of the Pandion kingdom, being that to which the most

decided objection was felt, as opposed to several authorities, having been traced to its source, was found to have *no warrant or existence in the manuscript on which its authority was made to rest*; and there must, consequently, have been a mistake in the information on which Mr. WILSON necessarily depended, from his admitted want of acquaintance with the Tamil language." On this statement, I have, by the way, to remark, that the assumption of my depending upon "information," implying, it is to be inferred, verbal information, is gratuitous and mistaken. I trusted to translations—written translations alone; never to verbal information or interpretation. The translations were the work as frequently of European as of native scholars, as specified in the list attached to the Sketch; and in the instance of the authority on which my statement depends, was the performance of R. CLARKE, Esq.

But, which is matter of more moment, Mr. TAYLOR's assertion, that the position is *without warrant or existence in the manuscript on which it rests*, is not only unsupported, but is even contradicted by the proof which he has himself adduced in a subsequent part of his work. The position to which he alludes is the statement, that according to some accounts, "the founder of the Pandya kingdom was one Pandya, a native of Oude;" and for this he says there is no warrant in the authority from which he supposes it to have been derived. All that he discovers in the text is, that in the manuscript "*Madura is merely said to have been founded by an agricultural Pandion from the north.*"[1] Such is his interpretation of the original and it is very possible that he may be correct; but, with such a passage actually in the original text, he is surely not justified in asserting, that there was *no* warrant nor existence whatever for the statement I had advanced, when, upon his own shewing, expressions so *very similar in their bearing do exist, and warrant, if not the precise words, yet a very similar sense.* Madura and the Pandya kingdom are essentially the same; and whether it was founded by a native of Oude, named Pandya, as I have it, or by an agricultural Pandion from the north, as Mr. TAYLOR states, does not appear to me to be so exceedingly different, that, where the latter occurs, it can be said that there is no warrant for the former. The difference, as far as it extends, appears to be that of translation; and the question of accuracy depends upon the relative competency of the translators. Admitting, however, that Mr. TAYLOR's version is correct, it does not follow that there were no traces whatever of such an interpretation

[1] Historical Manuscripts, Appendix II. p. 39. Note.

is I have followed, and which, though not perhaps literally, is substantially the same with his own. Authorities may differ as to the period of this event, and its share in the establishment of the kingdom of Madura; but their weight is in favour of a colonisation from Northern India. That "Pandya of Oude," or "a northern Pandion," had any personal part in the settlement of the country, is equally improbable.

I am too well pleased to see topics of this nature become the subject of discussion at all to take any exception to Mr. TAYLOR'S arguments: our only chance of coming at the truth is by independent investigation, and a comparison of separate results. I have no purpose, therefore, to impugn his deductions; but I may be allowed to question the value of one of his authorities to which I think he ascribes more weight than it deserves. It is the manuscript in his first volume which he calls "The Supplementary Manuscript;" and which he regards as trustworthy.[1] I place no great reliance on any of the manuscripts which profess to record the ancient history of the Peninsula, especially in periods of remote antiquity; but there are greater sobriety, consistency, and air of likelihood in some than in others; and in those of the best description, there is a general conformity with each other, or with classical Hindú tradition, which indicates their having been compiled with some conscientiousness and care. The "Supplementary Manuscript" possesses no such characteristics: it is exceedingly jejune and incoherent. In the first sections, the accounts which it gives of the connexion and intercourse between the Pandya princes of Madura, and the Pandavas of Hastinapura, although suggested by some of the adventures of Arjuna, as described in the *Mahábhárata*, are wholly incompatible with the details found in that poem. The names of the first dynasty of Madura kings differ from those of every other list yet met with; and there is nothing in the meagre notices of them which gives them in a greater degree the character of realities. Twenty-four princes are enumerated as reigning from the beginning of the Kali age to the year 1183. To this dynasty succeeds VIKRAMÁDITYA, a prince whom all tradition places in the year of Kali 3044. Having thus so widely antedated the reign of VIKRAMÁDITYA, the compiler of this document is obliged to extend it in proportion; and, accordingly, it is made to continue until the year of Kali 3179, or nearly 2000 years. We then have the reign of SÁLIVÁHANA for 990 years, and that of BHOJA for a century. In all this interval, or 3086 years, we have notice of only twenty-eight princes of Madura, and

[1] Vol. ii. p. 75.

names of no more than five. Then commences a Pandya dynasty, in the appellations of the first of which, Sulla Sundara, and of his successors, we first meet with any agreement with other and more detailed accounts. Here then we may admit some approach to accuracy; but for all that precedes, the "Supplementary Manuscript" is worthless. The best that can be said of it is that it is a blank, as five names are a very unsatisfactory provision for the record of 3000 years. Notwithstanding, therefore, Mr. Taylor's favourable opinion of the "Supplementary Manuscript," I cannot think that it is to be relied on for an insight into the dark periods of Pandya antiquity; and I am satisfied, that he will find at Madras, amongst the original manuscripts of the Mackenzie Collection, many documents much more worthy of his industry and acquirements.

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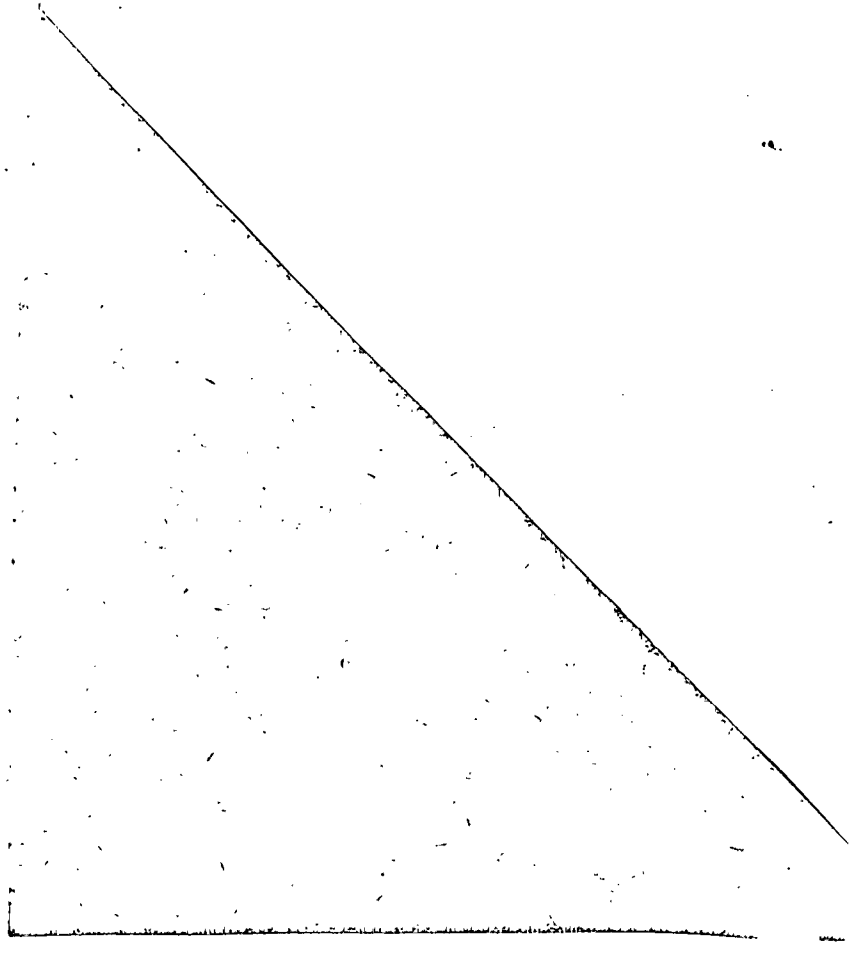

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